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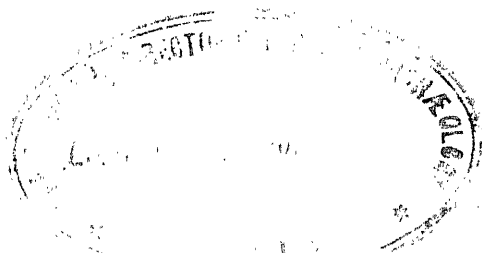
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# JOURNAL

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*The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book One.*—Edited, with critical notes, by LEROY CARR BARRET, M.A., Ph.D., of Johns Hopkins University.

**Prefatory Note.**—This elaboration of the first book of the Pāipalāda is in the nature of the case an experiment and only that: nothing absolutely definite can be attained until the whole shall have been worked over in a manner somewhat similar to this. The form in which the material is presented is the result of some experimenting on my part and advice from Professors Bloomfield and Lanman. The startlingly corrupt and varied condition of the manuscript has made it difficult to maintain a good balance in attempting emendation: and has also made necessary a certain freedom and lack of rigid consistency in the form in which the text is handled. The main object has been to give an exact transliteration of the manuscript; but I have separated the stanzas, treating each one separately. Immediately after the transliteration of each stanza probable or possible corrections have been suggested; or sometimes the stanza has been rewritten embodying such corrections. Of prime importance are the references to occurrences of stanzas or pādas in other texts; these were supplied by Prof. Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, to the manuscript of which he kindly gave me free access. When no references are given it will be understood that the material is new. Advance sheets of Whitney's *Translation of the Atharva Veda*, kindly furnished by Prof. Lanman, were helpful. I would here express my sincere thanks to Prof. Lanman for this assistance, as well as for stimulating advice,

and to Prof. Bloomfield for an interest and helpfulness which have been more than that of teacher to pupil.

The abbreviations used are the familiar ones, conforming to the list in Bloomfield's "The Atharva Veda," in Bühler's *Grundriss*: except that I have used Ś to refer to the Atharva Veda of the Śāunikiya School.

In transliterating I have used a vertical bar where the manuscript has a colon, a "z" to represent its sign for period, and the Roman period to represent the virāma. Sometimes I have used the dagger to indicate a corrupt reading retained. The abbreviation ms. (sic) for manuscript is used to avoid confusion with the abbreviation MS.

### INTRODUCTION.

**The condition of the ms.**—Of course I used the well-known fac-simile of the Pāippalāda ms., edited by Professors Bloomfield and Garbe; this is an absolutely perfect fac-simile and much more satisfactory to handle than the original birch-bark. Before the original ms. in Śāradā was sent to Prof. Roth there was sent a copy in Devanāgarī; of this transcript he made a copy, and from his copy I made a copy of Book One, to which reference is made by T; the variants in my T may be partly due to a difficulty I found in reading Prof. Roth's Devanāgarī script. The value of T has been in supplying some of what is missing in the original on the first few folios.

The whole of f1 is gone. Three pieces of f2 are preserved, but are not arranged in proper order in the fac-simile (see below, p. 203). In f3 there are two large holes and two smaller ones. A corner is broken out of f4, taking half of the last three lines on each side and blurring part of another on f4b. On f5 about two-thirds of the length of the last four lines are gone. On f6a the latter half of the last five lines has been lost through peeling of the bark, and a few characters are also missing from two more lines at the same place. In f20 there is a small hole at the edge touching ll. 3-5; occasionally elsewhere a few letters are missing or blurred because of chipping of the bark. All of f21 is gone, and the lower part of f22; it seems clear that f22b never had more than the present five lines of script, the copyist having left the rest blank as he left f23a (not shown in the fac-simile). Book One ends f29b l. 4.

A goodly amount of what is missing is supplied by T, which shows itself a very good copy elsewhere and may therefore be taken as the equivalent of the original for the missing parts. T gives nothing for f1: for f2 it gives a complete text save about the amount of three pādas on each side: for f3 it gives all save one pāda at the end of f3a: in f4 it shows the same lacuna with the ms., about the amount of four pādas being gone from each side: on f5 it shows the same lacuna with the ms., about the amount of eight pādas being gone from each side: on f6a it gives all the missing part save one pāda. For f21 T gives nothing and for f22 it gives only what the ms. has. From this statement the state of the ms. when T was copied will be evident.

**Numbering of hymns and stanzas.**—A hymn is called a kāṇḍa (once kāṇḍikā), but more often the abbreviation kā appears; five kāṇḍas make an anuvāka. In this book every anuvāka except the last is numbered, usually in abbreviation and most frequently in the form “a 21.”

The numbering of the kāṇḍas is not very regular; 18 times the ms. shows no number at the end of a hymn, 6 times the one given is wrong: 9 times the form is kāṇḍaḥ with the numeral, 19 times it is kā with the numeral, 44 times it is the numeral alone. After No. 56 appears ekādaśānuvāke prathamās sūktaḥ, and after No. 57 dvitīyas sūktaḥ.

The stanzas are numbered only down through kāṇḍa No. 40, and even for one-fifth of those stanzas the numeral is lacking. The verse-end is usually indicated even if the numeral is lacking; very often the colon is wanting at the end of a first hemistich. The copyist seems to have become more and more slack in punctuation and to have tended to abbreviated forms in numbering the hymns and stanzas. Except when rewriting a stanza I have not regularly indicated corrections of punctuation and numbering.

**The structure of the book.**—First, in regard to the missing parts, it is evident that the loss of f1 takes away four kāṇḍas, for T has at the end of the first hymn on f2a \* 5 prathamānuvākaḥ. The case is not so clear with f21; f20b ends with st. 2 of a 15 kā 2 and f23b begins in a 17 kā 3 in the middle of what is probably st. 2. Thus the number of kāṇḍas in a 15 and a 16 is not shown, but as all the other anuvākas have five kāṇḍas

each, save the last two which have six each, it seems very probable that these two anuvākas also had five kāṇḍas each: from this we may conclude that the book contained 112 hymns.

On f22a appears nearly all of a hymn which is surely a 16 kā 1; then follows the beginning of a 16 kā 2 and on the top of f22b appear the last two stanzas of what is very probably a 16 kā 3. It seems perfectly clear to me that the copyist then left blank the rest of f22b and all of f23a,—enough space to receive the rest of a 16 and the missing part of a 17.

In the case of 91 hymns the number of stanzas each has is clear, thus:

5 hymns have 3 stanzas each = 15 stanzas					
67	"	4	"	268	"
14	"	5	"	70	"
3	"	6	"	18	"
1	"	7	"	7	"
1	"	10	"	10	"
<hr/>				<hr/>	
91				388	"

There are about 23 stanzas in certain hymns which are seemingly complete, but in which there is an uncertainty as to how many stanzas they now have or once had; also in fragments of hymns there are about 11 stanzas; so that the book as it stands contains approximately 425 stanzas.

Several kāṇḍas are in prose, but in the count I have not excluded them; and the total includes as complete stanzas those on the first few folios which are restored from T or Ś.

Of these 425 stanzas about 150 are new material; and of these 150 about 100 stanzas are comprised in 25 complete hymns, the rest being scattered about in varying amounts.

The stanzas for the most part consist of four pādas of the usual eight- or eleven-syllable types; a few kāṇḍas have stanzas of three eight-syllable pādas, and a few are merely prose formulæ.

**Accents.**—In this book, and even throughout the ms., the accentuation is sporadic; 58 stanzas are marked, 34 of these constituting 7 complete hymns. The system of marking is very like that of the MS. (cf. plate in ZDMG. xxxiii, 177), but it is done with black ink. The udatta is marked with a vertical stroke over the syllable, the anudatta with a vertical stroke under

the syllable, the dependent svarita with a dot under the syllable, and the independent svarita with a hook under the syllable. Mistakes in accentuation are very common. It seems worth remark that all save one of the accented stanzas occur elsewhere and most of them frequently.

**Individualities and mistakes in orthography.**—The remarks of Bühler in his *Kashmir Report*, 1877, p. 25, are of interest and value in this connection: also Karl Burkhard, *Die Kaçmîrer Çakuntalâ-Handschrift*, Sitzungsberichte d. kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaft zu Wien, Philos.-hist. Classe, 107ter Band, S. 481.

The anusvāra is usually the dot, but the ardhacandra form occurs, with the crescent turned up or down; the three seem to be used indiscriminately. At times the anusvāra is used to denote any of the nasals, and that too whether they be medial or final: on the other hand, final *m* is sometimes, though rarely, assimilated to a following consonant. At times final *m* at the end of a hemistich is written anusvāra, and the dropping of any final *m* is a very common error.

The jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya (I transliterate both *ṣ*) are regular, though visarga appears before *k* at times and rather frequently before *p*: *ṣ* stands unchanged a few times before *k* and *p*, and regularly so before *s*, only rarely becoming visarga in this position: *ṣ* becomes *ś* before *ś*. Omission of visarga is very common at the end of a hemistich, often accompanied by lengthening of a preceding short vowel. But often the visarga is the only mark of the end of the hemistich. The various writings of final *ṣ* I have not made uniform.

The ms. never has an avagraha sign; when one is needed I have supplied it.

There are striking and rather plentiful instances of dittography and haplography: at times syllables seem to have been dropped without any cause. Sometimes two consonants are not ligatured, thus in effect inserting short *a*; the reverse too seems to happen, short *a* being dropped and the consonants ligatured. There are only a few marginal glosses, and these seemingly in the same hand with the body of the ms.

Before giving details it may be said that in Śāradā certain letters and groups of letters are almost or exactly identical; so confusions are to be expected between *ma* and *sa*, *ca* and *śa*, *cc* and *śca* and *śśa*, *u* and *ta*, *tu* and *tta*, *ku* and *kta*; the first or last con-



sonant is very often dropped in complicated ligatures; confusion is common between surd and sonant, between aspirate and non-aspirate, and between sibilants: all these characteristic errors are much in evidence in the Pāippalāda ms., which is remarkably full of mistakes although the script is very clear and easy to read.

The vowel signs are often dropped, especially that for *ā*; and there is considerable confusion between longs and shorts of the same quality. Double sandhi, especially when the resultant is *ā*, is common.

The sign for *yu* stands for *u* on f2a l. 3.

Rather frequent are interchanges between the i-vowels and their diphthongs; and between the u-vowels and their diphthongs.

Short *r* is found several times where *i* is necessary; moreover *r* and the combinations *ra*, *ri*, *ru* seem to interchange, and even *iri* and *ur* are found for *r*.

The well-known confusion of *e* and *aya* occurs; and *ayi* and *ahi* seem to appear for *e* and *āi*.

There are some cases of interchange between *kr* and *ks*: and the ligature *sk* is one of the most difficult to recognize.

It seems that *ca* and *ta* interchange, and there are several cases of confusion between *ceh* and *ts*. The signs for *ja* and *na*, also *jā* and *nu*, are enough alike to have caused some confusion.

Of the linguals may be mentioned *cl*, which looks like *ru* and is confused with it; also with *du*. One sign seems to serve for *st* and *sth*, though for the most part T gives the one needed.

Either *t* or *bh* carelessly formed will look like the other; hence confusions of *tu*, or *tta*, and *bhu*; also between *ty* and *bhy*. A number of times the ms. seems to make no distinction between *tr* and *tr̥*. The sign for *tha* at times interchanges with that for *ṣa*. Similarity of signs causes confusion of *da* and *ca*; also *dy* and *bhy*. In ligature, if it is the first letter, *dh* is found confused with *ś*; if it is the second letter, with *v*.

There is considerable confusion between *n* and *r* as the first letter of a ligature; especially *nda*, *nma* and *rma*.

The ms. regularly has *vr̥* and *vr* for *br̥* and *br*; these writings I have allowed to stand.

This sketch of the confusions of signs is not intended to be exhaustive, but it may help to orient any who cares to look into the manuscript.

**Relation to the Śāunakiya and to other texts.**—Just about 200 stanzas of this first book of the Pāipp. appear also in Ś. and further a number of scattered pādas. There is material here which appears in Books 1–11, 14, 16, 18–20 of Ś.; but the most of it is in Books 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7. Of Ś. 1 there are 19 complete hymns here, 6 of Ś. 2; 5 of Ś. 6; and 4 of Ś. 3. Of the Pāipp. hymns before No. 34 only Nos. 27 and 29 have no correspondent in Ś., and even much of the content of No. 27 is in Ś.

The bulk of the new material lies between hymns 43 and 101, although nearly 20 hymns within these limits are not new.

Stanzas which in Ś. constitute one hymn are here sometimes divided into two or even more; and the two Pāipp. hymns may appear in different parts of this book or in different books (cf. Whitney's *Translation*): or the order of stanzas may vary in the two versions, or the hemistichs be differently combined: or stanzas which in Ś. are one hymn appear here with another stanza added, from another part of Ś., or from another collection, or with a new stanza.

Two hymns in this book occur only here and in RV., one only here and in TS., four only here and in Kāuś.: and there are a few stanzas hitherto known only in some one of the Sūtras.

When the same stanzas appear here and in Ś., interesting variants often occur; but only rarely can we go so far as to correct Ś. by the Pāipp. When a stanza occurs here, in Ś., and in other places too, it is decidedly noticeable that the Pāipp. reading often agrees with one or more of the others rather than with Ś.; especially with RV., and MS. or KS.

**Conclusions** of any definiteness could not be drawn from this experiment of limited scope: some of the observations in the preceding pages may serve as a working basis.

#### FRAGMENTS OF F2.

- f2a frag. 1. \*āmṛtena vi rādhasi z kā 1 z divo\*  
 frag. 2. kāyaso manasā susevo\*  
 tiḥ z 2 z yunavadyābhi\*  
 r api gandharvāsu samudrā\*  
 upācaryantī z 3 z a\*i\*  
 śvāvasuṁ gandha\*  
 mi z 4 z y\*  
 nomuḥa tābhyo gan\*  
 kā\*

- frag. 3. \*garbho samīra  
 \*suṣṭā ny ūrṇobhu vi  
 \*ūṣaṇe tvam ava tvaṁ puṣka  
 \*keśeṣ\* na
- f2b frag. 1. \*śaś catasro bhūmyā uta | devā\*  
 frag. 2. \*snāvasu parvasu n\* \* \* \*  
 \*elaṇ śune jarāyu ttave | ne  
 \*styos vanāyutam. ava ja  
 \*mānuvākāḥ z  
 \*ṇi bibhratā vācaspa  
 \*ṇi z upane  
 \*soṣyate ni ram  
 \*tanū ubheya ratnī
- frag. 3. na rādhasi m\*  
 vanasya yas patir ekā\*  
 si vrahmanā deva divya\*  
 diva spr̥ṣṭo yajatas\*

These fragments are not in their proper order in the facsimile: the first is frag. 1 of f2b, to which fits frag. 3 of f2a, so as to give the reading devā garbho samīra on the same line; then to frag. 3 of f2a fits frag. 2 of f2b, so as to give on the same line snāvasu parvasu na keśeṣu n\*. And for the reverse, frag. 3 of f2b and frag. 1 of f2a fit together, so as to give on the same line na rādhasi mām̐tena°; frag. 2 of f2a follows frag. 3 of f2b, but not so as to give continuous reading.

#### ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA-ŚĀKHĀ.—BOOK ONE.<sup>1</sup>

##### 5.

##### Ś. 1. 11.

\* \* \* \* *tevavī tasmāi varsmāi tā punaḥ prajāyāsavī*

\* \* *diśaḥ pradīśaś catasro bhūmyā uta*  
*devā garbho samīrayante vy ujāvatu sūtave 2*

In a read catasro divaḥ, in c garbham sam īrayante, in d vy ūrṇavantu; Ś. has sam ārayan tām in c.

*suṣṭā ny ūrṇobhu vi yonin hāpayāmasi*  
*śrathayā sūṣaṇe tvam ava tvaṁ puṣkale sṛja 3*

<sup>1</sup> In the transliteration italicized words and letters are in T only. The division of words is based on that in T.

For a read *sūṣā vy ūṛnotu*; in c *sūṣaṇe*. Ś. has *biṣkale* in d.

*neva snāvasu na parvasu na keśeṣu na nakheṣu ca  
avāitu pṣṛti śevalaṁ śune janāyu tuve*

In c read *pṣṇi*, in d *jarāyṽ attave*.

Ś. st. 4ab has *neva māṇse na pīvasi neva majjasv āhatam*; the reading of cd adopted here is that of Ś., which has a fifth pāda, *ava jarāyu padyatām*. ApMB. 2. 11. 19cde has *sthavitry ava padyasva na māṇseṣu na snāvasu na baddham asi majjasu*: st. 20 of the same is *nirāitu pṣṇi śevalaṁ*°. Cf. also PG. 1. 16. 2, where our second hemistich appears as first.

*neva pāusena pīvasi neva kastyo nāyutām.  
ava jarāyṽva padyatām 5 prathamānuvākaḥ*

Read: *neva māṇse na pīvasi neva kastyoś canāyutām |  
ava jarāyu padyatām z 5 z kāṇḍaḥ 5 z prathamānuvākaḥ z*

For pādas a and c cf. under st. 4; PG. 1. 16. 2cde has *nāiva māṇsena pīvasi na kasmiṇś canāyatam ava*°.

6.

Ś. 1. 1.

*ye triṣaptāḥ paryanti viśvā rūpāṇi bibhratā  
vācaspatir balā teṣāṁ tanvam adhy ā dadhātu me*

In the first hemistich read *pari yanti*, and *rūpāṇi bibhratāḥ*.

This stanza occurs also MS. 4. 12. 1; 179. 14. Both Ś. and MS. have *tanvo adya* in d; for b see also Ś. 14. 2. 30b.

*upaneha vācaspate devena manasā saha  
asoṣyate ni rama\* \* \* \**

In a read *punar ehi*, and for c *vasoṣpate ni ramaya\* \**.

MS. 4. 12. 1 has *upa prehi* in a, but it seems better to read with Ś.: in MS. the second hemistich reads *vasupate vi ramayā mayy eva tanvaṁ mama*. N. 10. 18ab is as in Ś.; in c it has *rāmaya*, and d as in MS.

\* \* \* \* nū ubheya ratnī ya \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* vyajjayā vāca \* \* \*

The third stanza of Ś. is:

*iḥāivābhi vi tanūbhe ārtā iva jyayā |  
vācaspatir ni yachatu mayy evāstu mayi śrutam.*

*upahūto vācaspatir upahūto hañi vācaspatyu*  
*soni śrtena rādhasi mā mṛtena vi rādhasi kâ 1*

For the second hemistich read *sañ śrtena rādhasi mā śrtena vi rādhasi z 4 z kâ 1 z* For the first I make no suggestion.

The only parallel is st. 4 of Ś.; *upahūto vācaspatir upāsmān vācaspatir hvayatām | sañ śrtena gamemahi mā śrtena vi rādhiṣi.*

## 7.

## Ś. 2. 2.

*divyo gaṇḍharvo \* \* vanaspatir ekū yava nomasā*  
*vakṣavīḍyaḥ*  
*ta tvā yosi brahmaṇā deva divya namas te stu divi*  
*te sadhastham 1*

Read: *divyo gandharvo bhuvanasya yas patir eka eva namasā vikṣv īḍyaḥ |*

*tañ tvā yāumi vrahmaṇā deva divya namas te 'stu divi te sadhastham z 1 z*

In b Ś. has *eka eva namasyo °*, and in c *divya deva*.

*diva sprṣto yajataḥ sūryatvag jātū haruso dāivyasya*  
*ekāyaso manasā suṣevo nṛḍad gaṇḍharvo bhuvanasya*  
*yas patih 2*

In a read *divi*, in b *avayātā*; in c *suṣevo* but *ekāyaso* is a puzzle; [Perhaps for *ekaḥ kāyaso*.—*Ed.*] in d *gandharvo*.

Pādas abd here are the same with abc in Ś.; there d is *eka eva namasyaḥ suṣevaḥ*; b also occurs RV. 8. 48. 2b.

*yuvanadyābhis sama jagmābhir apsarābhir api gaṇ-*  
*dhavāsu*  
*samudrāsañ sadana māhus tatas sadyā upācaryamti 3*

Read: *anavadyābhis sam u jagma ābhir apsarābhir api gandharva āsuḥ |*

*samudra āsūñ sadanañ ma āhus tatas sadya ā ca parā ca yanti z 3 z*

The reading suggested here is that of Ś. except pāda b, which there has *apsarāsv api gandharva āsit*; perhaps *āsīt* should be read here. Ś has *yatas* in d.

*abhriye didyur nakṣatriye yā viśvāvasuṁ gaṁdharvaṁ  
sacaśve*

*tābhyo vo devīn namāitu kṛṇomi 4*

In a read didyun, in b gandharvaṁ sacadhve; and for c tābhyo vo devīr nama it °.

*yāḥ klandās tāmiṣṭicayo akṣikāmā manomuhā  
tābhyo gaṁdharvapātū\** \* \* *\*karanumah kā 2*

Read: yāḥ klandās tāmiṣṭicayo akṣakāmā manomuhā |  
tābhyo gandharvapātūbhyo 'psarābhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ  
z 5 z kā 2 z

8.

Corresponds to Ś. 2. 3.

\* \* *\*jabheṣajam subheṣajayatu kṛṇomi bheṣajam*

A possible reconstruction for this second hemistich would be:

\* \* *bheṣajam subheṣajam tad u kṛṇomi bheṣajam z 1 z*

Ś. st. 1cd has tat te kṛṇomi bheṣajam subheṣajam yathāsasi.

f3a *ād aṅgās śataṁ yad bheṣajāni te sahasraṁ vā ca yāni te  
teṣāṁ asi tvam uttamam anāsrāvam arohaṇam. z 2 z*

Here (and often below) the virāma and period (z) are both used by the scribe.

Read in a aṅgā śataṁ; ārohaṇam in d.

In Ś. the first hemistich is ād aṅgā kuvid aṅgā śataṁ yā bheṣajāni te; the second as here save arohaṇam for ārohaṇam. Pāda c as here occurs VS. 18. 67c; ŚB. 9. 5. 1. 53c; MŚ. 6. 2. 6c; and elsewhere several times with unimportant variations.

*aruspānam idaṁ mahat prthivyābhy adbhṛtam. |  
tad asrāvasya bheṣajam tad rogam anīnaśat.*

For b read prthivyā adhy udbhṛtam; āsrāvasya in c.

This is st. 5 in Ś. where arussrāṇam stands in a and tad u in d: Ś. 1. 24. 4b is prthivyā adhy udbhṛtā (sc. śyāmā).

*upacikā ud bharantī samudrād'adhi bheṣajam  
aruspānasy ātharvano rogasthānam asy ātharvaṇam. z  
kāṇḍikā 3*

Read bharanti in a, and aruspāno 'sy in c.

The first hemistich is the same with the first of st. 4 in Ś.; the second is new, but cf. Ś. 4. 3. 7d, ātharvaṇam asi vyāghrajam-bhanam.

On the Pāli form upacīkā see Bloomfield, SBE. 42. 511 and reference there to Morris in *London Academy* of Nov. 19, 1892, vol. xlii, p. 462. Cf. also Whitney's *Translation*.

One would expect aruṣpāṇa rather than aruṣpāna; the lexicons have not the word, but if its form is acceptable its meaning is clearly "protecting against wounds."

## 9.

Ś. 1. 10.

ayan devānām asuro vi rājati viśā ya satyā varuṇasya  
rājñā |  
udas pari vrahmaṇā śāsaṇāni ugrasya manyo hrda  
mantrayāmi z 1 z

Read ayaṁ in a, rājñāḥ in b, tatas in c, and ugrasya manyor in d; perhaps śāśadāna might stand in c here as it does in Ś.; an acc. hrdaṁ would suit well in d. In b I leave viśā ya unsolved; Ś. has vaśā hi. For d Ś. has ugrasya manyor ud imaṁ nayāmi.

namas te jan varuṇasta manyavo viśvaṁ yayad deva  
nṛcakeṣu dugdhaṁ  
śataṁ sahasraṁ pra sravāsy arbhā ayaṁ no jīvāṁ śarado  
vyapāye z 2 z

T has suvāsy.

Read: namas te rājan varuṇastu manyave viśvaṁ yad deva ni  
cikeṣi drugdhaṁ |  
śataṁ sahasraṁ pra suvāmy arbhā ayaṁ no jīvan śarado  
†vyapāye z 2 z

In b Ś. has viśvaṁ hy ugra ni °, and for the second hemistich it has sahasraṁ anyān pra suvāmi sākaṁ śataṁ jīvāti śaradas tavāyam. Pāda d as in Ś., also Ś. 2. 29. 2d.

yad uktā anṛtaṁ jihvayā vrajinaṁ bahu  
rājñas tvā matyadharmāṇo muñcāmi varuṇād aham. z 3 z

In a read uvakthānṛtaṁ, vṛjinaṁ in b, satya° in c.

amuñcam tvā vāiśvānarād akavām mahatas pari |  
sajātān ugraha\* \* vr\* \* \*hana z 4 z

Filling the lacuna from Ś. we may read:

amuñcam tvā vāiśvānarād akavām mahatas pari |  
sajātān ugrehā vada vrahma cūpa cikīhi naḥ z 4 z kā 4 z

Ś. has muñcāmi in a, and arṇavām in b.

10.

Ś. 1. 16. 2, 3, 1, 4.

f3b sīsāyānvāha varuṇas sīsāyāyāgnīr upāvati |  
sīsam māindra prāyacchad amīvāyas tu cātam. z, 1 z

T has cātanam in d.

In b read sīsāyāgnīr upāvati, in c ma indraḥ, in d amīvāyās  
tu cātanam.

In a Ś. has °ādhy āha, and for d tad ānga yātucātanam.

idam viṣkandam sā te idam bādhatē triṇaḥ |  
anena viśvā sāsaḥ yā jātāni miśācyā z 2 z

In a read viṣkandham sahata, in b 'triṇaḥ, in c sāsahe, in d  
piśācyāḥ.

ye māvāsyām rātrim vjasku cājamam triṇaḥ  
agnis turyo yātuhāsāu naḥ pātu tebhyah 3

In a read 'māvāsyām, in b ud asthur and atrīṇaḥ, leaving  
cājamam unsolved.

Pāda b in Ś. has °vrājam atrīṇaḥ, and for ed it has agnis  
turyo yātuhā so asmadbhyam adhi bravat.

yady ahaṁsv aśva yadi gām yadi pūruṣam.  
sīsenā vidyāmas tvā yathā yathā no so vīrahā z 4 z  
anuvākāu 2 z

In a read aśvam, in c vidhyāmas, and for d yathā no 'so  
'vīrahā. Read anuvāko. In a ahaṁsv probably conceals some  
form of han.

In Ś. the stanza reads yadi no gām haṁsi yady aśvam yadi  
pūruṣam | tam tvā sīsenā vidhyāmo °.



## 11.

Cf. Ś. 1. 29 and RV. 10. 174.

abhivartana maṇinā yeuendro abhi vāvṛte |  
tenemañi vrahmaṇas pate bhi rāṣṭāya vartaya z 1 z

In a read °vartena, in d 'bhi rāṣṭrāya.

In b Ś. has vāvṛdhe; RV. has the verb as here but haviṣā for maṇinā; both Ś. and RV. have tenāsmān in c; in d Ś. has var-dhaya, RV. vartaya. Pāda c as here also Ś. 19. 24. 1c; ten-āśya ° Ś. 6. 101. 2c; cf. RVKh. 10. 128. 12d.

abhivari sapatnābhī yā no arātayaḥ  
abhi vṛtaninyantañi tiṣṭhābhī yo no durasyatu z 2 z

In a read abhi vāri as a possibility, in c pṛtaninyantañi, in d durasyati.

In a Ś. and RV. have abhivṛtya sapatnān; the rest is given as in Ś. In d RV. has na irasyati.

abhi tvā devas savitābhīs somo abhībhr̥śat.  
abhi tvā viśvā bhūtāny abhivatun yathāmasi

Read savitābhī somo ṭabhībhr̥śat, and in d abhivarto yathā-sasi seems probable.

In b Ś. has avīvṛdhat, RV. avīvṛtat.

ud asāu sūryo agād ud ayañ māmakañ vacaḥ  
yathāham śatruhāsany asapatna sapatnāhū |

In b read idañ, in c °hāsāny, in d asapatnas.

The first hemistich is the same with that of Ś. st. 5: RV. 10. 159. 1ab and ApMB. 1. 16. 1ab read ud asāu sūryo agād ud ayañ māmako bhagaḥ: TB. 2. 7. 16. 4ab has ud asāv etu sūryo ud idañ °. Ś. 4. 4. 2ab has ud uṣā ud u sūrya ud idañ°.

The only parallel for c is Ś. st. 5c yathāham śatruho 'sāny. Besides Ś. 1. 29. 5 pāda d also occurs Ś. 10. 6. 30c and 19. 46. 7b. RV. 10. 159. 5a is asapatnā sapatnaghnī; ApMB. 1. 16. 5a is asapatnā sapatnighnī.

f4a sapatnakṣaṇo vṛṣābhirāṣṭro vṛṣāsahi |  
yathāham eṣāñ vīrāṇāñ vi rājāni janasya ca z 5 z

Read: sapatnakṣayaṇo vṛṣābhirāṣṭro viṣāsahih |  
yathāham eṣāñ vīrāṇāñ vi rājāni janasya ca z 5 z kā 1 z

This stanza is No. 6 in Ś. Pāda a also Ś. 10. 3. 1b; the rest of the stanza appears in RV. 10. 174. 5, but with bhūtānām in c; RV. 10. 159. 6c and ApMB. 1. 16. 6c read yathāham asya vīrasya; pāda d in RV. reads as here, but ApMB. has vi rājāmi dhanasya ca.

12.

Ś. 2. 28. 1, 2, 4, 3.

tubhyam eva jarimam vardhatām ayaṁ | māinaṁ man-  
yena mṛtyavo hiṁśiṣas tvām  
māteva mitraṁ praminā upasthe mitrenam mitrayāt  
mātv anhasā 1 z

Read: tubhyam eva jariman vardhatām ayaṁ māinam anye  
mṛtyavo hiṁśiṣus tvām |  
māteva putram pramanā upasthe mitra enam mitriyāt  
pātv anhasaḥ z 1 z

In c Ś. has memam anye mṛtyavo hiṁśiṣuḥ śataṁ ye. A variant of c, māteva putram bibhṛtām upasthe, occurs RV. 6. 75. 4b; VS. 29. 41b; TS. 4. 6. 6. 2b; MS. 3. 16. 3b; 185. 16; N. 9. 40b.

mitraś ci tvā varuṇas ca riśādāu jarāmmṛtyu kṛṇutām  
saṁvidānau |  
tad agnir hotā vayoṇāni vidvān viśvā didevo janimā ni  
vakti z 2 z

Read mitraś ca, riśādāu jarāmmṛtyuṁ, vayoṇāni, and viśvāni devo °.

In Ś. a reads mitra enam varuṇo vā riśādā; and d viśvā devānām janimā vi vakti. Pāda d as in Ś. also occurs Ś. 4. 1. 3b, and KS. 10. 13.

dyāuḥ te pitā pṛthivī mātā jarāmmṛtyuṁ kṛṇutām dīr-  
gham āyuh  
yathā jīvā ṛtyā upasthe prāṇāpānābhyām gupteś śa \*m  
himām z 3 z

Read jarāmmṛtyuṁ, and śataṁ himān; I have no suggestion in regard to gupteś.

Ś. has the following variants; in a tvā for te, saṁvidāne at end of b, aditer for ṛtyā in c, gupitaḥ and himāḥ in d. Pāda b as here also occurs Ś. 2. 13. 2b; 19. 24. 4b with verb kṛṇuta.

tvam īśiṣe paśūnām pārthivānām ye jātā uta ye janitvā |  
 \*e\*aiṇ p\*āṇo hāsīn do pāno māinaṁ mitrā vadhiśar mo  
 mitra\* \*

Read: tvam īśiṣe paśūnām pārthivānām ye jātā uta ye janitvāḥ |  
 memaiṇ prāṇo hāsīn mo 'pāno māinaṁ mitrā vadhiṣur  
 mo 'mitrāḥ z 4 z kā 2 z

Ś. has uta vā in b, and memaiṇ in d: pāda c also occurs Ś. 7.  
 53. 4a.

13.

Ś. 2. 29. 4-7.

\* \* \* \* nena sr̥ṣto marudbhir ugraḥ pra \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* thivī pari dadāmi sa mā \* \* \* \* \*

By taking words from Ś. to fill the lacunæ we get the follow-  
 ing stanza:

indreṇa datto varuṇena sr̥ṣto marudbhir ugraḥ prahito  
 na agān |  
 etaṁ vām dyāvāpṛthivī pari dadāmi sa mā kṣudhan mā  
 tṛṣat z 1 z

In a, which also occurs Ś. 3. 5. 4b, Ś. has śiṣto for sr̥ṣto; the  
 latter might be a corruption of śiṣto. The second hemistich in  
 Ś. is eṣa vām dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe mā kṣudhan mā tṛṣat.

f4b ūrjam asmā ūrjasvatī dhattām yatho smā payasvatī dhat-  
 tam.  
 ūrjam asmāi dyāvāpṛthivī adhātām viśve devā maruta  
 ūrjam āpaḥ z 2 z

In b read payo 'smāi.

śivas te hr̥dayaṁ tarpayantv anamīvo modamāmaś  
 careha |  
 savāsīnāu pivatām sattham evāśvināu rūpaṁ paridhāya  
 māyām z 3 z

T has mantham for sattham.

Read śivās in a, pibatām mantham evāśvino in cd.

The first hemistich of Ś. is śivābhiḥ te hr̥dayaṁ tarpayāmy  
 anamīvo modīśiṣṭāḥ suvarcāḥ: in c Ś. has mantham etam.

(tasya pātāraṁ sajātām puriṣam ūrja svadhāsajatām  
 etam eṣū | )

This hemistich stands in the ms. after the numeral 3 of the preceding stanza. Whatever meaning we are able to get out of it does not seem to fit the context. If the first pāda were anything like 4a, we might throw out the two pādas as ditto-graphy.

indra etām sasrje vidyo gram ūrja svadhām ajatām etam  
eṣā |  
tayā tvañ jīva śaradas suvarcām sū tā śusro bhiṣajas te  
akran. z 4 z

T has viddho in a.

Read: indra etām sasrje viddho 'grām ūrjām svadhām ajitām  
†etam eṣā |  
tayā tvañ jīva śaradas suvarcā mā ta ā susrod bhiṣajas  
te akran z 4 z kā 3 z

In a Ś. has agra; in b ajarām sū ta eṣā.

14.

Ś. 1. 30.

viśve devāso bhi rakṣatesas utādityā jāgrata yūyam  
asmin.  
semañ samāna uta vānyanābhir memaṁ prā\*\* āuruṣe\*  
e\*\*\*o z 1 z

T has yūyasmin in b; and breaks off at prā.

The tops of the letters after prā show in the ms., and I feel sure that it has prāpat pāuruṣeye vadho ya.

Read: viśve devāso 'bhi rakṣatemam utādityā jāgrta yūyam  
asmin |  
memam samāna uta vānyanābhir memam prāpat pāuru-  
ṣeyo vadho yaḥ z 1 z

In a Ś. has viśve devā vasavo rakṣatemam: and in c it has memam sanābhir.

ye vo devāṣ pitaro ye ca pu \* \* \* \* \* tecam ugdham.  
sarvebhyo vaṣ pari \* \* \* \* \* se nayāthā z 2 z

By taking words from Ś. to fill the gaps we get the following reading:

ye vo devās pitaro ye ca putrāḥ sacetaso me śṛuṭedam  
uktam |  
sarvebhyo vaṣ pari dadāmy etan svasty enan jarase  
nayātha z 2 z

In d Ś. has vahātha.

ye devā di \* \* \* \* \* ntariḁṣa oṣadhīṣv apsu |  
te kṛṇu \* \* \* \* \* tam anyāna pari vṛkta mṛtyuṁ z 3 z

T has antakṣi in b.

Again filling the gaps from Ś., and emending, we get:

ye devā divi śṭha ye pṛthivyāṁ ye antariḁṣa oṣadhīṣv  
apsu |  
te kṛṇuta jarasam āyur asmāi śatam anyān pari vṛṇaktu  
mṛtyūn z 3 z

For b Ś. has ye antariḁṣa oṣadhīṣu paśuṣv apsv antaḥ.

f5a yeṣāṁ prayātha uta vānuyātha hutabhāgāhutādaś ca  
devāḥ  
yeṣāṁ vayaṣ pañca pradiśo vibhaktās tāṁ no smāi san-  
nasadhaḥ kṣaṇomi z 4 z

In a T has prayajā vānuyāsa; in d satrasadhaḥ.

Read: yeṣāṁ prayājā uta vānuyājā hutabhāgā ahutādaś ca  
devāḥ |  
yeṣāṁ vayaṣ pañca pradiśo vibhaktās tān vo 'smāi satra-  
sadaḥ kṛṇomi z 4 z kā 4 z

Pāda ā occurs in the form yeṣāṁ prayāja utānuyājāḥ, ApŚ.  
14. 32. 5b and TB. 3. 7. 10. 4. In c Ś. has yeṣāṁ vah °.

### 15.

Ś. 1. 14.

aham te bhagam ā dade dhiṣeṣṇayava srja |  
mahāmūlāiva parvato jyog apatiriṣv āsāsahī z 1 z

T has dhiṣeṣṭa in b.

In b read 'dhi and srajam; the rest of b I cannot solve. In c  
read mahāmūlā iva; and in d jyok pitṛṣv āsāsāi is probably the  
correct reading. The ms. at times fails to join consonants, thus  
in effect inserting a (cf. preceding hymn st. 3d for the opposite):

even though jyog, and not jyok, is written here, this seems to be the reason for apatirīṣv.

The first hemistich in Ś. is bhagam asyā varca ādiṣy adhi vṛkṣād iva srajam: in b Ś. has mahābūdhna, and in d it has āstām.

yat te rājanakanyān ayūn vi dhūyate yamaḥ  
sā mātūr vadhyaṭām gr̥he atho bhrātūr atho pituḥ z 2 z

Read the first hemistich thus: yat te rājan kanyā ṛnayūn vi dhūyate yama. And in c read badhyatām.

In a Ś. has eṣā te °; in b vadhūr ni dhūyatām °.

yan te ketamā rājann imām u pari dadhmasi |  
jyog apatirīṣv āsūtā ā śrīṣṇas samopyāt z 3 z

T has ketapū in a.

Read: yat te ketapā rājann imām te pari dadmasi |  
jyok pitṛṣv āsūtā ā śrīṣṇas samopyāt z 3 z

In the first hemistich Ś. has eṣā te kulapā rājan tām u te °; in d it has śamopyāt.

asitasya vrāhmaṇā kaśyapasya gayabhasya ca |  
antaṣkośa vibha jāmayopa nahyāmi te bhagam z 4 z  
anuvākāḥ 3 z

Read: asitasya vrahmaṇā kaśyapasya gayasya ca |  
antaṣkośam vibhā jāmayo 'pi nahyāmi te bhagam z 4 z  
kā 5 z anuvākāḥ 3 z'

In a Ś. has asitasya te °; in c it has antaḥkośam iva jāmayo. The lack of iva in Pāipp. makes the reading vibhā doubtful, and it seems probable that the reading here should be the same with that of Ś.

# 16.

Ś. 1. 23; TB. 2. 4. 4. 1ff.

naktam jātāsy oṣadhe rāme kṛṣṇe apikn \* \* \*

T has asikn \* \*.

As far as the ms. goes it reads like Ś.; by taking words from Ś. we may complete the stanza as follows:

naktam jātāsy oṣadhe rāme kṛṣṇe asikni ca |  
idam rajani rajaya kilāsam palitam ca yat z 1 z

kilāsaṁ da \* \* \* \* \*

\* tvā soṣṇatām varṇa \* \* \* \*

T has ca \* in a.

In completing this stanza I use the words of Ś., but emend pāda c on the basis of TB.

kilāsaṁ ca palitāṁ ca nir ito nāśayā pṛṣat |

ā tvā svo 'śnutām varṇaḥ parā śuklāni pātaya z 2 z .

In c Ś. has ā tvā svo viśatām varṇaḥ; TB. has ā na svo aśnutām°. In d TB. has śvetāni.

\* tam te pralayanam ā \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* nir ito nāśayābhi \* \*

Filling the gaps with words from Ś. we have:

asitaṁ te pralayanam āsthanam asitaṁ tava |

asikṇy asy oṣadhe nir ito nāśayā pṛṣat z 3 z

TB. has nilayanam in a; and asikṇy asy° in c.

f5b \* \* \* \* tanūjasya ca yatvāci |

dhūsyā kṛtasya vrahmaṇā lakṣma śvetam anenaśam. z 1 z

With the help of Ś. we get:

asthijasya kilāsasya tanūjasya ca yat tvaci |

dūsyā kṛtasya vrahmaṇā lakṣma śvetam anīnaśam z 4 z

kā 1 z

In c TB. has kṛtyayā kṛtasya°.

# 17.

## Ś. 1. 12.

jarāyujas prathama usriyo vṛṣā vātabhrajā stanayann etu  
vṛṣtvā

ma no mṛtāta tvago bhajaṁ ye kam ojas tredhā vi  
cakraye z 1 z

In b read vātabhrajās: in c the first three words are probably sa no mṛdāti, and bhajaṁ may be a corruption of bhañjan, or even rujan; for tvago I have nothing to offer unless it be tvaco, which is not satisfactory. We may read d as in Ś., ya ekam ojas tredhā vi cakrame.

In b Ś has ° eti vṛṣṭyā; and for pāda c it has sa no mṛdāti tanva rjugo rujan.

aṅge ṅge śociṡā śúśriyāyāno yo gr̥hīta parasya gr̥bhīti |  
aṅkonam aṅko haviṡā yajāmi hr̥diśrito manasā yo jajāna  
z 2 z

We may safely restore a to read aṅge-ṅge śociṡā śíśriyāno, and d to read hr̥diśrito manaso yo jajāna; in b no doubt the sense is as in pāda d of Ś., but to emend definitely is not safe: in c haviṡā yajāmi is good, and it may be that the rest is only a corruption of the reading of Ś., aṅkānt sam aṅkān.

The stanza in Ś. reads thus: aṅge-aṅge śociṡā śíśriyānaṁ namasyantas tvā haviṡā vidhema | aṅkānt sam aṅkān haviṡā vidhema yo agrabhīt parvāsyā grabhītā.

muñcāmi śídvasaktyā uda kāśa enaṁ panuḥ pabhar ā  
viveśa yo syaḥ  
yo trajā vātajā yaś ca śuṡmo vanaspatīn sr̥jatām par-  
vatūñś ca z 3 z

In a T has śīrṡaktyā uda kāśa; in b paruḥparur ā°; in c 'bhrajā.

Read the first hemistich, muñcāmi śīrṡaktyā uta kāśa enaṁ paruḥ-parur ā viveśa yo 'sya: in c read yo 'bhrajā, and in d sacatām°.

Ś. has muñca in a, ā viveśā in b.

śam te parasmāi gātāya śam astu parāya te  
śam te pr̥ṡtibhyo majjabhyaś śam astu tanve tava z 2 z

T has majjabhyaś ca śam astu°.

Read: śam te parasmāi gātrāya śam astv 'parāya te |  
śam te pr̥ṡtibhyo majjabhyaś śam astu tanve tava z 4 z  
kā 2 z

Ś. has pronouns of the first person. In b Ś. has avarāya, which might perhaps be read for 'parāya. For c Ś. has śam me caturbhyo aṅgebhyaḥ.

# 18.

Ś. 3. 8. 1-4.

ā yātu mitra ṛtubhis \*al\*amānas saṁveśāyan pr̥thivīm  
uśriyābhīḥ  
tad asma \* \* \* \* \* dadhātu z 1 z



T gives kalpanānas in a, and has usriyābhiḥ in b.

T has the correct reading of the first hemistich. Again drawing on Ś. we may suppose that the second hemistich read, tad asmābhyam varuṇo vāyur agnir vṛhad rāṣṭram saṁveśyam dadhātu.

In c Ś. has athāsmābhyam °.

\* \* \* \* \* prati grhantu me va \*  
\* \* \* \* \* jātānām madhyameṣṭhā \* \*

For the sake of completeness I give the stanza as restored with the help of Ś.

dhātā rāṭiḥ savitedam juṣantām indras tvaṣṭā prati grh-  
antu me vacaḥ |  
huve devīm aditiḥ sūraputrām sa-jātānām madhyameṣṭhā  
yathāsāni z 2 z

Ś. has haryantu in b.

f6a \* \* \* tāraṁ namobhir viśvān devāṁ hamuttaratve |  
ayam agnir dīdāyad ahaṁ nameva sa-jāter uddho prati  
vṛhadbhiḥ z 3 z

With the help of Ś. we get the following for the first hemistich: huve somam savitāraṁ namobhir viśvān devāṁ ahamuttaratve. In c of Ś. dīrgham stands where aham stands here, but I hesitate to read with Ś. Pāda d is to be read as in Ś., sa-jātāir iddho 'pratibruvadbhiḥ.

In b Ś. has ādityāṁ; in c ° dīdāyad dīrgham eva.

ihed asādhanna puro gamātheyo gopāḥ puṣṭipatir vājat.  
asmāi vaṣ kāmā upa kāmīnir viśve devā upa satyām iha  
z 3 z

T has asāthanna and gamātheyo.

Read: ihed asātha na paro gamātheyo gopāḥ puṣṭipatir va  
ājat |  
asmāi vaṣ kāmā upa kāmīnir viśve devā upa satyām iha  
z 4 z kāmā 3 z

If pāda c can stand in this form, which is not at all certain, and if we suppose that satyām conceals some form such as sam yantu, perhaps we may then translate, "to this man may your

desires come, may ye desiring females come; may all the gods together come to him."

Pāda a, as here, also Ś. 14. 1. 32a. In b Ś. has puṣṭa°. The second hemistich of Ś. is asmāi kāmāyopa kāmīnir viśve vo devā upasam yantu.

19,

Ś. 1. 9.

asmin vasa vasavo dhārayantu indras tvaṣṭā varuṇo mitro  
agnih  
imam ādityā uta viśve ca devā utame devā jyotiṣi dhār-  
ayanta z 1 z

T has °yantu in d.

Read vasu and °yantv in a, and utame and °yantu in d.

Pāda a occurs Kāuś. 55. 17. In b Ś. has pūṣā instead of tvaṣṭā. In d Ś. has uttarasmin jyotiṣi °.

asmin devāḥ pradiśā jyotir astu sūryo agnir uta vā  
hiraṇyam. |  
uttareṇa vrahmaṇā vidhāhi kṛṇ\* \* anyān adharān  
sapatnān. z 2 \*

T has vibhāhi in c, and kṛṇvāno in d.

In a asmin may have been written under the influence of asmin in st. 1a; we may read with Ś. asya: and if pradiśā is not acceptable, read pradiśi with Ś. In c read vibhāhi, which may be the reading of the ms., since the sign transliterated dh is not perfect: in d kṛṇvāno.

In a Ś. has asya devāḥ pradiśi °: the second hemistich in Ś. reads sapatnā asmad adhare bhavantūttamaṁ nākam adhi roha-yemam. Pāda d as in Pāipp. occurs Ś. 2. 29. 3d; TS. 3. 2. 8. 5d; MS. 1. 2. 10c; 20. 13; 4. 12. 3d; 185. 14, and elsewhere; with kurvāno, in KS. 5. 2d, and 22. 2.

om̐ yenendrāya samabharan payāṁsy uttareṇa vrahmaṇā  
jātuvedah  
tena tvagiriha vardhayemaṁ rāyaspoṣaṁ śrūṣṭhyam ā  
dhehy asmāi z 3 z

Omit om̐: in c we may probably read tena tvam agna iha °.

This stanza occurs MS. 1. 4. 3: 50. 14; TS. 3. 5. 4. 2; KS. 5. 6. In a Ś. and TS. have sam abharah. In b all others have

uttamena; TS., MS., and KS. having haviṣā. For c TS. and KS. have tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemaṁ, MS. ° uta vardhayā māṁ. For d Ś., TS., and KS. have sajātānāṁ śrāiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam; MS. sajātānāṁ madhye śrāiṣṭhyā ā dhehi mā.

*eṣāṁ yajñam uta varco \*\*raya rāyaspoṣa\* \* \* \* \**

*\* \*trāsmad adhare bhavantūttame devā jyotiṣi dadhātu  
na ma \**

T has varco vareyaṁ in a.

Read: āiṣāṁ yajñam uta varco dade 'hain rāyaspoṣam uta  
cittāny agne |  
sapatnā asmad adhare bhavantūttame devā jyotiṣi dadhātu  
enam z 4 z kū 4 z

The supplied words are from Ś.; and pāda a is given as in Ś., though vareyaṁ is a possibility. Pāda d in Ś. is the same with d in Ś. st. 2; see above.

## 20.

Ś. 1. 19.

mā no vidam na vivyādhino mo bhivṛyādhino vidan.  
f6b āvāc charvyāsmad viṣūcīr indra pātaya z 1 z

For a read mā no vidan vivyādhino; read mo 'bhi ° in b, and charavyā asmad ° in c. With these corrections the stanza reads as in Ś.

viśva vo asmac charavaḥ patantu ye sthā ye cāsyā |  
devā manuṣyā ṛṣayo mitrān no vi viddhatu z 2 z

T has viśvaṁ ko in a; and vi vindatu in d.

In a read viṣvaṁco for viśva vo; read in b ye 'stā ye cāsyāḥ; in d read 'mitrān and vidhyantu.

For the second hemistich Ś. has dāivīr manuṣyeṣavo mamāmitrān vi vidhyata. Ś. 11. 9. 23b is amitrān no vi vidhyatām.

yas samano yo samāno mitro no jighāṁsati |  
rudraś carvyā tām amitrān na vi viddhatu z 3 z

T has vi vindatu in d.

In a read samāno and 'samāno, in b 'mitro; in c read śaravyayā, and in d no vi vidhyatu.

Pādas ab are not found elsewhere, though there is similar phraseology in Ś. 11. 10. 25-27. The first hemistich in Ś. is yo

naḥ svo yo araṇaḥ saajāta uta niṣṭyo yo asmāñ abhi dāsati. Ś.  
has etān in c, and mamāmitrān vi ° in d.

sabandhuś cāsabandhuś ca yo na indrābhi dāsati |  
devās tañ sarve dhūrvantu vrahma varma samāttarañ  
z 3 z z caturtho nuvākaḥ z

Read: sabandhuś cāsabandhuś ca yo na indrābhi dāsati |  
devās tañ sarve dhūrvantu vrahma varma mamāntaram  
z 4 z kā 5 z caturtho 'nuvākaḥ z

Pādas ab occur Ś. 6. 15. 2ab where b reads yo asmāñ abhi °;  
so also Ś. 6. 54. 3ab. The first hemistich of Ś. 1. 19. 4 is yaḥ  
sapatno yo 'sapatno yaś ca dviṣaṁ chapāti naḥ. Pādas cd occur  
as here in Ś. 1. 19. 4; RV. 6. 75. 19; SV. 2. 1222.

## 21.

St. 1=Ś. 7. 76. 1; st. 2-4=Ś. 6. 83. 1-3.

nāmannaśaṁ svayamsrasaṁ nasatībhyo vasattarā |  
mehor asattarā lavaṇād vikledīyasī z 1 z

In a nāmannaśaṁ seems hopelessly corrupt: read for b asatī-  
bhyo asattarāḥ; for c sehor arasatārā, or possibly ā sehor ° as  
Whitney suggests; in d read vikledīyasīḥ.

In Ś. a is ā susrasaḥ susraso.

apacitta pra pa uta suparṇo vāsater iva |  
sūryaḥ kṛṇotu bheṣajaṁ candram ā vo pocchatu z 2 z

T has patata in a for pa uta.

In a read apacitaḥ pra patata, in b vasater, and in d 'poc-  
chatu.

enyekā syanyekā kṛṣṇikā rohiṇī dve |  
sarvāsūm agrabhaṁ nāma vīraghnīr upetana z 2 z

In the first hemistich read enyekā śyanyekā kṛṣṇāikā °; in the  
second ° nāmāvīraghnīr apetana.

Pāda c occurs RV. 1. 191. 13c, as well as in Ś.

asūtikā rāmāyaty apacitta pra paṭiṣyati |  
glāur iti pra paṭiṣyati sakalaṁ tena śudhyati z 3 z

Read rāmāyany in a, and apacit in b.

In Ś. the second hemistich reads glāur itaḥ pra patiṣyati sa galunto naśiṣyati.

f7a apīto pacitvarīr indraṣ pūṣā tu cikyatu |  
apetv asya grīvābhyo apa padbhyān vijānatā z 4 z

Read: apeto 'pacit tvarīr indraṣ pūṣā tu cikyatuḥ |  
apetv asya grīvābhyo apa padbhyān †vijānatā z 5 z kā 1 z

Vijāmatāḥ has been suggested for vijānatā.

## 22.

Ś. 1. 31.

āsānām āśāpālāś catūrbhyamṛtebhyaḥ  
idān bhūtāsyādhyakṣebhyo vidhēma haviṣa vayām. z 1 z

T has cattāntyamṛte° in b, and haviṣā in d.

For pāda b read catūrbhyo 'mṛtebhyaḥ; in d read haviṣā°.

This stanza appears also in TB. 2. 5. 3. 3, and 3. 7. 5. 8; AŚ. 2. 10. 18; ApŚ. 4. 11. 1; and pāda a ApŚ. 7. 16. 7. Of these AŚ., and also Ś., reads as here: in a TB. and ApŚ. have āsānām tvāśā°.

āsānām āśāpālāś catvāras sthana devāḥ  
te no nirṛtyāḥ pāṣebhyo muñcatānhamo hasaḥ z 2 z

For d read muñcatānhaso 'nhasaḥ.

Ś. has in a ya āsānām°.

aśroṇas te haviṣā vidhema maśrāmas te ghr̥tenā juhomi |  
ya āsānām āśāpālas turyo devas sa nas sabhūtam eha  
vaksat. z 3 z

T has vidhema masramas °.

In the first hemistich read vidheyam asrāmas te ghr̥tena °: subhūtam in d.

In Ś. the first hemistich is asrāmas tvā haviṣā yajāmy aśroṇas tvā ghr̥tena juhomi: in c Ś. has turyo.

svasti mātṛ uta pitṛe no stu svasti gobhya uta pūruṣe-  
bhyaḥ

viśvaṁ suto suvidatram astu yog eva dr̥śava sūryam. z 4 z

In a T has mātṛ uta pitṛe; in both words the sign in the ms. is clearly ṛ, of course meant for tr. In d T has dr̥śeva.

In a read mātra uta pitre no 'stu: for d read jyog eva dṛṣaye. sūryam: for suto in c I have no suggestion. [Perhaps for su- (bhū)tañ; cf. Ś.—Ed.]

In Ś. pāda b reads svasti gobhyo jagate puruṣebhyaḥ: and c reads viśvañ subhūtañ suvidatrañ no astu: in d it has dṛśema, where I have written dṛṣaye.

23.

Ś. 1. 32.

idañ janāso vidathañ mahad vrahma vadiṣyati  
na tat pṛthivyāñ no divi yataḥ prāṇantu vīrudhaḥ z 1 z

In a Ś. has vidatha; and in d yena prāṇanti.

antarikṣasam āsāñ sthānañ śāntamadām iva |  
āsthānañ asya bhūtasya viduṣkṛd bheṣatodanaḥ z 2 z

T has viduṣ ṭad in d.

For the first hemistich read antarikṣam āsāñ sthānañ śrāntasa-  
dām iva. I can do nothing with bheṣatodanaḥ: read viduṣ ṭad.

In a Ś. has antarikṣa āsāñ, and in b sthāma; for d Ś. has  
viduṣ ṭad vedhaso na vā.

f7b yad rodhasī rejāmāne bhūmiś cā naraśakṣatām  
ādyāñ tad adya sarvadā vidur asse vavartasī z 3 z

The ms. has bhyāñ over ādyāñ in c; T has tad adyāñ.

In a read rodasī; in b probably nir atakṣatām on the basis of  
Ś., and ca for cā; for vidur asse I have nothing to suggest.

Ś. has nir atakṣatam in b, and ārdrañ in c; for d it has samu-  
drasyeva srotyañ.

viśvam anyābhi vavāra viśvam anyasyām adhi śrutañ |  
dive ca viśvavedhase pṛthivyāi cākaran namaḥ z 3 z

Read: viśvam anyām abhi vavāra viśvam anyasyām adhi  
sritam |

dive ca viśvavedase pṛthivyāi cākaran namaḥ z 4 z kā 3 z

In a Ś. has abhīvāra; in b tad anyasyām °; in d akarañ.  
This stanza occurs also TB. 3. 7. 10. 3, and ApŚ. 9. 14. 2: pāda  
a is viśvam anyābhi vāvṛdhe, pāda c dive ca viśvakarmaṇe, b  
and d as in Ś.

## 24.

Ś. 1. 15. 1, 4, 3. 2.

sam sam sravantu sindhavas sam vātā divyā uta |  
tebhīr me sarvāis samśrāvāir dhanam sam srāvayāmasi  
z 1 z

For b Ś. has sam vātāḥ sam patatṛiṇaḥ; and for the second hemistich inam yajñam pradīvo me juṣantām samśrāvyeṇa hav-  
iṣā juhomi; the second hemistich as in Pāipp. appears in Ś. st.  
3 and 4. Pāda a also appears in Ś. 2. 26. 3a, with paśavas, and  
19. 1. 1a, with nadyas; b as in Ś. also occurs Ś. 19. 1. 1b.

ye samśrāvas sam sravanti kṣīrasya cōdakasya ca |  
tebhīr me sarvāis samśrāvāir dhanam sam srāvayāmasi  
z 2 z

In a read samśrāvās; Ś. has sarpiṣaḥ for this.

ye nadībhyas sam sravanty uchāmas saramakṣikā |  
tebhīr me sarvāis samśrāvāir dhanam sam srāvayāmasi |  
z 3 z

T has uchāsas in b.

In b read utsāsā; for the rest of b I can suggest nothing,  
unless it be the reading of Ś., sadam akṣitāḥ.

In a Ś. has nadīnām.

idam havyā upettanedaṁ sam srāvaṇā uta |  
ihāita sarvo yaṣ paśur asya vardhayato rayim z 4 z z z

Read: idam havyā upetanedaṁ samśrāvaṇā uta |  
ihāitu sarvo yaṣ paśur asya vardhayata rayim z 4 z kṛ 4 z

There is no parallel for a as given here. Ś. 1. 15. 2 reads  
ihāiṣa havam ā yāta ma iha samśrāvaṇā utemaṁ vardhayatā  
girah | ihāitu sarvo yaḥ paśur asmin tiṣṭhatu yā rayiḥ.

## 25.

Ś. 1. 33; TS. 5. 6. 1.1 and 2; MS. 2. 13. 1: 151. 7; ApMB. 1.  
2. 2 ff.

om hīraṇyavarṇās śūcayas pāvakā su jātās kaśyāpo yāsv  
īndrah  
yā agnīm garbham dadhiré sūvarṇās tā na āpas sām syonā  
bhavantu z 1 z

In ab read pāvakā yāsu °; in c gārbhaṁ and suvārṇās; omit om̐.

In addition to the places cited above, pāda a occurs MS. 1. 2. 1a: 9. 12; ApŚ. 10. 6. 1 (bis); ApMB. 1. 2. 1a, and 2. 6. 16; TB. 2. 8. 9. 3; HG. 1. 10. 2; 21. 15.; 2. 18. 9. In pāda b TS., MS., ApMB. have kaśyapo as here, TS. and MS. indraḥ as here: Ś. has savitā yāsv agniḥ; and ApMB. has agniḥ for second name. Pāda c, as here, only in Ś. and ApMB; but see under st. 3. Pāda d, as here, in Ś., TS., MS.; also AG. 4. 6. 15d: ApMB. has tās ta °.

yāsām rājā vārūṇo yātu mādhye satyānr̥té avapāśyañ  
jánānām. |

f8a yā agniṁ gārbhaṁ dadhiré súvarṇās tá na ápaś sám syonā  
bhavantu zz 2 z

Read yāti in a, suvārṇās in c.

The first hemistich, as here, is in Ś., TS., MS., and ApMB. as cited at the head of the hymn; also RV. 7. 49. 3ab. See under st. 1 for cd of Ś. and ApMB.; TS. and MS. have madhuścutaḥ śúcayo yāḥ pāvakās °.

yāsām devā divi kṛṇvanti bhakṣām yā antárikṣe bahudhā  
bhavanti |

yā agniṁ garbhaṁ dadhire suvarṇās tá na ápaś sám syonā  
bhavantu z 3 z

Supply accents in c; read ápaś in d.

The first hemistich, as here, occurs in Ś., TS., and MS.; ApMB. has nivīṣṭaḥ at end of b. Pāda c, with virūpās for suvarṇās, occurs in the first stanza of TS. and MS. versions.

śívéna cákṣuṣā paśyatāpaś śíváyā tanvōpa spr̥śetvátvá-  
cam̐ mécam̐ |

ghṛtaścutās śúcayo yāḥ pāvakās tá na ápaś sám syonā  
bhavantu z 4 zz pañcamo nuvākaḥ z

Read: śívéna mā cákṣuṣā paśyatāpaś śíváyā tanvōpa spr̥śata  
tvācam̐ me |

ghṛtaścutās śúcayo yāḥ pāvakās tá na ápaś sám syonā  
bhavantu z 4 z kā 5 z pañcamo 'nuvākaḥ z

The first hemistich, unaccented, appears as the first hemistich of Pāipp. 1. 33. 4; also Ś. 16. 1. 12ab; these, as also the versions of TS. and MS., read as the Pāipp. here: so too AB. 8. 6. 10. ApMB. has paśyantv āpaś in a, and spr̥śantu tvacam̐



te in b. Only Ś. and ApMB. have the second hemistich as here, the latter having tās ta ° in d.

## 26.

Ś. 1. 24, with a stanza inserted between st. 3 and 4 of Ś.

suparṇo jātaḥ prathamāḥ tasya tvam pīttam āsita  
tāvāsūrī jighāṣitā rūpam cakre vanaspatīḥ z 1 z

Read āsitha in b, and tāvāsūrī jighāṣitā in c.

For c Ś. has tad āsūrī yudhā jītā; in d it has vanaspatīn.

āsurya cakre prathame idam kilāṣabheṣajam |  
idam kilāsanāśānam anenaśata kilāsam surūpām akara-  
tvaca z 2 z

Read: āsūrī cakre prathamedam kilāṣabheṣajam idam kilāsanā-  
śanam |

anīnaśat kilāsam surūpām akarat tvacam z 2 z

Ś. has sarūpām in d.

surūpā nāma te mātā surūpo nāma te pitā |  
surūpokṛtvam oṣadhe sū surūpam idam kṛdhi z 3 z

In c T gives surūpakṛtvam, which is correct.

This stanza occurs TB. 2. 4. 4. 2: both Ś. and TB. have sarūpa- throughout. In TB. c reads sarūpāsy oṣadhe.

yat tanūjam yat agnījam citram kilāsu jajñise |  
tad astu sukṛtas tanvo yatas tvāpi nayāmasi z 4 z

In b read kilāsam, in c sukṛtam, and in d tvāpa.

f8b śyāmā surūpaṁkaraṇī pṛthivyābhy arbhavam  
idam ū ṣu pra sādaya punā rūpāṇi kalpaya z 5<sup>z</sup> 1

Read: śyāmā surūpaṁkaraṇī pṛthivyā abhy arbhavam |  
idam u ṣu pra sādaya punā rūpāṇi kalpaya z 5 z kā 1 z

In a Ś. has śāmā sarūpaṁ°; in b adhy udbhṛtā; in c sādahaya.

## 27.

A rearrangement of material from Ś. 6. 40, and 6. 32. 3, with some original pādas.

abhayaṁ sōmas savitā kṛnotv abhayaṁ dyāvāpṛthivī  
ubhe |

abhayaṃ \*var āntarikṣaṃ no stu saptarṣiṇāṃ haviṣābhayaṃ no stu z 2

In the second hemistich read svar ant° and no 'stu.

Ś. 6. 40. 1 is as follows: abhayaṃ dyāvāpṛthivī ihāstu no 'bhayaṃ somaḥ savitā naḥ kṛnotu | abhayaṃ no 'astūrv antarikṣaṃ saptarṣiṇāṃ ca haviṣābhayaṃ no astu. Ś. 19. 15. 5b reads as b of Pāipp. with ime added.

abhayaṃ dyāvāpṛthivī ihāstu no gñināsītān praty oṣadha  
praticāḥ |  
sū jñātāraṃ sū pratiṣṭhām idaṃ tam atho vighnānām  
upa yantu mr̥tyuṃ z 3 z.

In b read 'gñināmītrān praty oṣatām °; read the second hemistich mā jñātāraṃ mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta mitho vighnānā °.

Pāda a=Ś. 6. 40. 1a; there is no parallel for b as emended; but cf. AG. 3. 10. 11 abhayaṃ mitrāvaruṇā mahyam astv arcīṣā śatrūn dahataṃ pratītya, and Ś. 6. 32. 3 abhayaṃ mitrāvaruṇāv ihāstu no 'reīṣātriṇo nudataṃ praticāḥ. The second hemistich, as here, occurs Ś. 6. 32. 3 and 8. 8. 21; and in AG. 3. 10. 11 with vindantu in c and bhindānā in d.

pañca devā abhayasyeṣatam indras tvaṣṭā varuṇo mitro  
gñiḥ  
māyaṃ grāmo duritam ena āvad anyatra rājñām abha-  
yāta mr̥tyuṃ z 4 z

Margin gives tyatra in d.

Read ° eṣatām in a, 'gñiḥ in b, āgad in c, and abhi yātu mr̥tyuḥ in d.

There is no parallel save Ś. 6. 40. 2d, which has manyuḥ for mr̥tyuḥ.

asmāi grāmāya pradiśaś catatr ūrjāṃ subhūtaṃ savitā  
dadhātu |  
aśatrum indro abhayaṃ kṛnotu madhye ca viṣāṃ sukr̥te  
syāma z 5 zz 2 z

T has catatra in a, and syām in d.

Read catasra in a, and dviṣāṃ in d. All the stanzas are numbered wrongly, unless we suppose that there was a stanza before the first one given. The figure 2 at the end of this stanza indicates the number of the kāṇḍa.

Pāda a=Ś. 6. 40. 2a; b in Ś. is ūrjaṁ subhūtaṁ svasti savitā naḥ kṛnotu; in c Ś. has aśatrv indro abhayaṁ naḥ °; pāda d of Pāipp. has no parallel.

## 28.

Ś. 1. 22.

anu sūryam ud etāṁ hr̥dyoto hr̥disā ca te |  
yo rohitasya gor varṇas tēna tvā pari dadhmasi | 1 z

T has harimā ca te in b.

Read ayatām in a, and read with T in b.

For c Ś. has go rohitasya varṇena. Similar stanzas are RV. 1. 50. 11; TB. 3. 7. 6. 21ff.; ApŚ. 4. 15. 1. Pāda d occurs PG. 2. 2. 7c.

f9a pari tva rohitāir varṇāir dīrghāyutvāya dadhmasi |  
yathā tvam arapāpo atho hārīto bhava z 2 z

Above arapāpo the ms. has pāmo, and above the mo is so; T has arapo so.

Read tvā in a, arapā aso in c, and 'harito in d. Better than atho in d would be 'tho; but cf. ms. in 15. 2d.

The second hemistich in Ś. is yathāyam arapā asad atho aharito bhuvat. Pāda c as in Ś. also occurs RV. 10. 137. 5d; Ś. 4. 13. 4d; AŚ. 2. 7. 13c.

yā rohiṇīdevatyā gāvo yā rohiṇī data |  
rūpaṁ rūpeṇa yo vayas tena tvā pari dadhmasi z 3 z

In b T has rohiṇīr uta.

Read with T in b; in c it seems best to follow Ś. and read rūpaṁ-rūpaṁ vayo-vayas.

In a Ś. has rohiṇīr devatyā; cf. SBE. 42. 265. In b uta is the third word; in d Ś. has tābhiḥ tvā °. Pāda c also Ś. 19. 1. 3a; KS. 8. 14d. For pāda d see st. 1.

śukeṣu te harīṇaṁ prapaṇākāśa dadhmasi |  
atho hāridraṣu te harimāṇaṁ ni dadhmasi z 4 z 3 z

Read harimāṇaṁ in a, ropañākāsu in b, and hāridraveṣu in d.

Ś. has sukeṣu in a. The stanza occurs, with me instead of te, in the connection cited under st. 1.

29.

yāṣ purastād ā caranti nīdāis sūryād adho divaḥ  
etam apsarasām rātum vrahmaṇecchā varāmasi z 1 z

Read nīcāis in b, and for d vrahmaṇāecchā vadāmasi. I can do nothing with rātum.

Pāda d=Ś. 10, 10. 4d.

yadaśrād ā caranti jihvāmuṣākan icchati |  
ahataṣ patāyato namyaṁ tatas sutanvati z 2 z

The only suggestions that I venture here are yāṣ paścād in a, and icchanti in b; the rest I cannot explain.

yāṣ kulyā yā vānyathā ūconmādayiṣṇavaḥ  
sarvās tvā mṛssisūgaram pṛsadā khalvāṁ iva z 3 z

The ms. reading is perhaps ūcormād°.

Of the first hemistich only the words yāṣ kulyā yā seem sound. Read for the second hemistich sarvās tā mṛsmṛsūkaram dṛsadā khalvāṁ iva.

The second hemistich appears Ś. 5. 23. 8, thus: sarvān ni maṣmaṣūkaram °; d again Ś. 2. 31. 1d. Pāda c occurs VS. 11. 80d as sarvaṁ taṁ bhasmasā kuru; with masmasā for bhasmasā, this form appears TS. 4. 1. 10. 3d; ŚB. 6. 6. 3. 10. The form sarvāns tām maṣmaṣā kuru appears KS. 16. 7d; TA. 2. 5. 2d; MS. 2. 7. 7d: 84. 3 has this form but with mṛsmṛṣā.

cetantīm aśmalām palām tāsām vo namo reiṣe |  
ārād yakṣma ni dattāsmān no dhi pāuruṣa z 4 z

Read 'reiṣe in b, dhatta in c, and 'dhi pāuruṣam in d. What to do with namo I do not know. The number of the kāṇḍa is 4.

30.

Ś. 19. 52, plus 3. 29. 7.

kāmas tad agre sam avartata manaso rebhaḥ prathamam  
yad āsīt. |

f9b sa kāma kāmena vṛhadā sayonīm rāyaspoṣam yajamānāya  
dhehi | z 1 z

Read retaḥ in b, and vṛhatā sayonī in c.

The first hemistich occurs in the following passages in addition to Ś.: RV. 10. 129. 4; TB. 2. 4. 1. 10; 8. 9. 4. and 5;

TA. 1. 23. 1; NrpU. 1. 1. In all of these except Ś. and NrpU. the first pāda has sam avartatādhi. Pāda c only here and in Ś. (without sa). Pāda d is also found in Ś. 18. 1. 43d, and 4. 47d.

tvam kāma sūhasāsahi pratiṣṭhito vibhur vibhāva suśakhā  
sakhīyate  
tvam ugrāḥ pṛtanāsu sūśahis sahojo yajamānāya dhehi  
z 2 z

Read sahasāsi in a, vibhāvā in b, and saha ojo in d.

In b Ś. reads sakhā ā sakhīyate; this pāda as here occurs RV. 10. 91. 1d.

bhrarāc cakmānāya pradhipāṇyākṣe  
āsmāśṛṇvann āśās kāmēnājanājanayat saha | 3 z

The margin and T have dūrāc in a.

Read: dūrāc cakamānāya pratipāṇyākṛaye |  
āsmā śṛṇvannpāsās kāmēnājanayat sahaḥ z 3 z

At the end of d Ś. has svaḥ. There is no other close parallel: but cf. TA. 3. 15. 1 and 2.

kāmena mā kāmāgaṇ hṛdayād dhṛdayaṁ pari |  
yad amiṣāṁ kāmado manas tadābhūpa mām iha z 4 z

In a read kāma āgaṇ as in Ś.; or we may accept the reading of the ms. In d read tad ātūpa °.

In b Ś. has yad amiṣāṁ ado °. TA. 3. 15. 2 has the following:—kāmena me kāma āgāt | hṛdayād dhṛdayaṁ mṛtyoḥ | yad amiṣāṁ ado priyaṁ | tad ātūpa mām abhi.

yat kāma kāmāyamānā idaṁ kṛṇuvasate haviḥ  
tan nassassarvaṁ samṛddhyatām athāitasya haviṣo viha  
svāhā z 5 z

Read kṛṇmasi in b, nas sarvaṁ sam ṛdhyatām in c, and vihi in d.

This stanza appears also in Kāuś. 92. 31, without variant; and pāda a in Kāuś. 92. 30.

kā idāṁ kāmādāt kāmāṣ kāmāyādāt.  
kāmo dhātā kāmāṣ pratighṛhitā kāmāṣ samudrām ā  
viveśa

kāmena tvā prati grhṇāmi kāmāitāt te z 6 z saṣṭānuvā-  
kaḥ z z

T has dātā in c.

Read kasmā adāt in a, dātā in c, and supply the accents on kāmēna and prāti in e; supply kāṇḍaḥ 5 after the number of the stanza: with these changes the stanza reads as in Ś., except that Ś. has pratigrahītā, which is found in the other versions too.

This stanzas occurs MS. 1. 9. 4: 135. 1; KS. 9. 9. and 12; PB. 1. 8. 17; TB. 2. 2. 5. 5 and 6; TA. 3. 10. 1 and 2; AŚ. 5. 13. 15; ApŚ. 14. 11. 2. Of these KS. and PB. have ā viśat in d, while TB., TA., AŚ., and ApŚ. have ā viśa: and the latter four have in the same pāda kāmāni samudram°. MS. has kāmāya tvā prati grhṇāmi. Pāda a and kāmāitāt te are quoted MŚ. 5. 2. 14. 13, and MG. 1. 8. 9: cf. also Kāuś. 45. 17. VS. 7. 48: ko 'dāt kasmā adāt kāmō 'dat kāmāyādāt | kāmō dātā kāmāḥ pratigrahītā kāmāitāt te.' So also ŚB. 4. 3. 4. 32, and ŚŚ. 4. 7. 15.

31.

Ś. 5. 4. 6 and 8-10.

f10a imaṁ me kuṣṭha pāuruṣaṁ tam ā vaha taṁ niṣ kṛdhi |

Read pūruṣaṁ.

In b Ś. has kuru, and adds a third pāda, tam u me agadaṁ kṛdhi.

ud ajñāto himavatas sa prācyāṁ niḥame janāṁ  
tatr kuṣṭhasya nāmāny uttamāna vi bhejire | 1

T has id ° in a.

Read the first hemistich udañ jāto himavatas sa prācyāṁ nīyase janam. Read tatra in c, uttamāni in d. The number should be 2.

uttamo nāmāsy uttamo nāśa te pitā |  
yataḥ kuṣṭha pra jāyame tad ehy ariṣṭatātaya z 2 z

T has nāma in b, and jāyase in c.

In b and c read with T, in d read °tātaye. The number should be 3.

In Ś. pāda a is uttamo nāma kuṣṭhāsy. There is no parallel for the second hemistich.

śīrṣahatyām upahatyām akṣayas tandho rapa |  
kuṣṭho ne viśvatas pātu devān samāha vṛṣṭiham z 4 z

T has no in c.

Read: śīrṣahatyām upahatyām akṣos tanvo rapa |  
kuṣṭho no viśvatas pātu dāivān samaha vṛṣṇyam z 4 z  
kā 1 z

In a Ś. has śīrṣānāyam °; and in b akṣos (cf. Index Verb.).  
Pāda c of Ś. is kuṣṭhas tat sarvān niṣ karat.

## 32.

Ś. 1. 25, plus 5. 22. 13.

yad agnir āpo duhat praviśya yatrā kṛṇvan dharmadhṛto  
namāṃsi  
tatr tāhuh paramān janitraṃ ma nas saṃvidvāna pari  
vṛndhi takmam. z 1 z

In a read 'duhat, in c tatra ta āhuh °, and read d sa nas saṃ-  
vidvān pari vṛndhi takman.

yady arcirīri vāsa dhūmah śākalyeṣu yadi vā te janitraṃ  
huhun nāmāsv aritasya devaḥ sa nas saṃvidvān pari  
vṛndhi takmam. z 2 z

T has huhur ° in c.

In a read yady arcir yadi vāsi °, in c huhur nāmāsi haritasya °,  
and in d takman.

Ś. has ° vāsi śociḥ in a, and śakalyeṣi in b.

yadi śoko yady adīśoko rudrasya prāṇo yadi vāruṇo si |  
huhur nāmāsv aritasya devaḥ sa nas saṃvidvān pari  
vṛndhi takmam. z 3 z

In a read atīśoko, in b 'si; read the second hemistich as  
in st. 2.

In a Ś. has ° yadi vābhiśoko; for b Ś. has yadi vā rājño varu-  
ṇasyāsi putrah.

namaś śītāya takmane durāya kṛṇvā vayam te  
f10b yo nyedyur ubhayebhyaś cahatas tṛtīyekāya namo stu  
takmane z 4 z

In c T has yo nyedyur ubhayedyas.

Read: namaś śītāya takmane rūrāya ṭkrvā vyañ te |  
yo 'nyedyur ubhayedyuś ṭcahatas ṭṭīyakūya namo 'stu  
takmane z 4 z

In b we might read kṛmo vyañ te, but the ms. gives only a slight basis for this: and in c perhaps cāgatas or cāyātas.

Pāda b in Ś. is namo rūrāya śociṣe kṛñomi; pāda c, which also occurs Ś. 7. 116. 2a, has ° ubhadyur abhy eti.

ṭṭīyekañ vitṭīyañ sadantasrūta hāyanam. |  
takmānañ viśvaśāradañ grīṣmañ nāśaya vārṣika z 5 z 2 z

T has vārṣikañ in d.

Read: ṭṭīyakañ vitṭīyañ sadanidim uta hāyanam |  
takmānañ viśvaśāradañ grīṣmañ nāśaya vārṣikam  
z 5 z kāṇḍaḥ 2 z

In b Ś. has śāradam; and for c it has takmānañ śītañ rūrañ: pāda c as here occurs Ś. 9. 8. 6c, and 19. 34. 10c. A similar stanza is Ś. 19. 39. 10.

### 33.

Ś. 7. 89. 1-3, plus 16. 1. 12 and 13, plus a variant of TB.  
3. 7. 12. 6.

āpó adyāñv acūriṣaṃ raséna sám aganmahi |  
pāyasvān āgna āgaman tāñ mā sám srja vārcasam. z 1 z

In b read aganmahi, in c agna ā gamañ, in d varcasā. And the accentuation should be āpo and rāsena.

This stanza also appears Ś. 10. 5. 46; RV. 1. 23. 23; 10. 9. 9; VS. 20. 22; TS. 1. 4. 45. 3; 46. 2; MS. 1. 3. 39: 46. 12; KS. 4. 13; 29. 3; 38. 5; JB. 2. 67 (68); ŚB. 12. 9. 2. 9; TB. 2. 6. 6. 5; LŚ. 2. 12. 13; ApMB. 2. 6. 6.

For a Ś. has apo divyā acūyīṣam: a as here is given by RV. and AŚ. 3. 6. 27, with apo by VS., MS., KS., ŚB., LŚ., and ApMB.: a alone, in this form, is quoted by MŚ. 1. 7. 4. 47; MG. 1. 1. 17; 11. 25; 2. 2. 26. apo anv acūriṣam is given by TS., TB., JB., and ApŚ. 7. 27. 16; 8. 8. 18; 18. 10; 13. 22. 6.

In b RV. has agasmahi, KS. and LŚ. aganmahi, Ś. and JB. aprkṣmahi, others asrkṣmahi.

Pādas cd occur still again Ś. 9. 1. 14. RV. has āgahi in c.

sām māgne vārcasā srja prajāyā ca bahūñ kṛdhi |  
vidyūr me asya devā indró vidyūt saharṣibhiḥ z 2 z



T has bahuñ in b.

Accent devā indro and sahārsibhiḥ.

This stanza also occurs Ś. 9. 1. 15; 10. 5. 47; RV. 1. 23. 24; KS. 4. 13; ApMB. 2. 6. 7 and 8. In b. Ś. has sañ prajayā sam āyusā: KS. and ApMB. have prajayā ca dhanena ca. The form we have here occurs Ś. 6. 5. 1d; VS. 17. 50d; MS. 2. 10. 4d: 135. 4; KS. 18. 3d; ApŚ. 6. 24. 8d. In c ApMB. has vidyū me.

idam āpaṣ pra vahatāvabhya ca malañ ca yat. |  
yaś ca dudrohāñtam. yaś ca śyepe bhīruṇaḥ z 3 z

Both margin and T have °vadya in b; T has yac ca in c and d.

Read avadyaṇ in b, yac ca in c and d, °tañ at end of c, and in d śepe 'bhīruṇam.

For this stanza see RV. 1. 23. 22; 10. 9. 8; VS. 6. 17; VSK. 6. 5. 5; LŚ. 2. 2. 11; ApŚ. 7. 21. 6; MŚ. 1. 8. 4. 40.

Pāda a alone occurs rather frequently in other Sūtras.

Ś., VS., LŚ., and ApŚ. have b in the form given here; yat kiñ ca duritañ mayi appears in RV. and VSK., occurring also in TA. 10. 24. 1e; 25. 1e; MahānU. 14. 3e and 4e: as yat kiñ cid ° it occurs in MŚ., in TAA. 10. 64d, and MahānU. 19. 1d.

Pāda c as here occurs nowhere else; Ś., VS., and LŚ. have yac cābhi du°, which should perhaps be restored in Pāipp.; RV., VSK., and MŚ. have yad vāham abhi dudroha; ApŚ. has yad vābhi dudrohāñtam.

Pāda d as here also Ś., VS., and LŚ.; VSK., MŚ., and ApŚ. have yad vā °; RV. has yad vā śepa utāñtam.

śivena mā ccakṣuṣā paśyatāpaś śivayā tanvopa sprśata  
tvacañ me |

śivān agnīñ apsuṣado havāma mayi kṣatrañ varco datta  
devi z 4 z

Read cakṣuṣā in a, havāmahe in c, dhatta and devī in d.

The first hemistich occurs above in 25. 4(=Ś. 1. 33. 4), which see for parallels. The second hemistich, with variants, appears TS. 5. 6. 1. 2; MS. 2. 13. 1: 152. 6; AB. 8. 6. 10.

Ś. reads as here except for ā dhatta in d. TS. and AB. have sarvān agnīñr apsuṣado huve vo, MS. omits vo. For d MS., TS., and AB. have mayi varco balam ojo ni dhatta.

yad āpo naktam mithunam cacāra yad vā dudroha duritam  
purāṇam |  
hiraṇyavarṇasya tatāt punantu sū pra mā muñcantu var-  
ṇasya pāsāt. z 5 z

Read naktam in a, purāṇam in b; in c hiraṇyavarṇās tat  
punantu mā, or perhaps ° tata ut punantu °.

The following, from TB. 3. 7. 12. 6, is the only parallel: yad  
āpo naktam duritam carūma yad vā divā nūtanam yat purāṇam |  
hiraṇyavarṇās tata ut punita naḥ.

34.

These formulae appear in Kāuś. 78. 10.

agnir janam idam mahīyām jāyam imāsatā | somo vasu-  
vina mahyam jāyās isamatā z 2 somo vasuvina  
f11a mahyam jāyās isamatā z 2 z pūṣā jñātuvina mah-  
yam jāyās isamatā z 3 z indras sahyām mahyam  
jāyām imāsatā z 4 z

T has the s and m signs a little varied.

Read: agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām adāt z 1 z somo  
vasuvin mahyam jāyām imām adāt z 2 z pūṣā  
jñātivin mahyam jāyām imām adāt z 3 z indras  
sahyām mahyam jāyām imām adāt z 4 z kāṇḍaḥ 4 z

Kāuś. has pūṣā jātivin, which may need emendation: it also  
has indraḥ sahīyām. For some similar formulae see ŚG. 1. 9. 9,  
where we find agnir janitā, somo janimān, and pūṣā jñātimān,  
but no address to Indra.

35.

These formulae also appear in Kāuś. 78. 10.

agnaye janavidhe svāhā 1 somāya vasuvide svāhā 2  
pūṣṇe jñātuvide svāhā z 3 z indrāya sahyasvehā  
z 4 z kāṇḍaḥ 5 z saptamo nuvākāḥ z z

In 1 read janavide, in 3 jñātivide, and in 4 sahyase svāhā.  
Read 'nuvākāḥ.

Kāuś. has jātivide in 3, and sahīyase in 4. There are similar  
formulae in ApMB. 1. 4. 1-3, and MG. 1. 10. 8.

## 36.

yaṣ purastād ā caranty a vā paścāt sadāmama |  
asmān anṛcchantīr yanti yūyaṁ svādāvanādya z 2 z

In a read yāṣ; for b read ā vā paścāt sadānvāḥ. In c read anṛcchantīr; the rest remains a puzzle.

TB. 3. 7. 4. 1 and ApŚ. 4. 4. 4 have a pāda reading yāḥ purastāt pra sravanti; see also above, 29. 1a.

yaṣ paścād ā caranti purastād vā z 3 z  
yaṣ paścād ā caranti purastād vā z 3 z

Read yāṣ °.

yā uttarād ā caranty adharād vā sadānvā |  
asmān anṛcchantīr yanti yūyaṁ svādāvanādya z 4 z  
kāṇḍaḥ 1 z

T has anṛcch° in c.

In b read sadānvāḥ, in c anṛcchantīr ° as in 1. The stanzas probably should be numbered 1, 2, 3.

## 37.

ubhayīr aham āyātāṣ parācī karaṁ tvat.  
devebhīr anyāstv ā bahvīr anyā atho divam. z 1 z

In b read parācīr akaraṁ °; the second hemistich seems hopelessly corrupt.

namas te rudrāsyate namaḥ | pratihitābhyah  
f11b namo visrjyamānābhyo namo nipatitābhyah z 2 z

The only change needed is to place the colon.

This stanza appears Ś. 6. 90. 3; in the last three pādas Ś. has °hitāyāi, °mānāyāi, and °itāyāi: with pāda a cf. also MŚ. 3. 1. 25a; cf. namas te astv āyate in Ś. 11. 2. 15a; TB. 3. 7. 2. 7a; AŚ. 1. 12. 34c; ApŚ. 9. 2. 9a.

hiraṇyāir māulivarṇāḥ ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi ṣaṭ śatā |  
tābhiṣ pari śrayāmahe tā no rakṣatu sarvataḥ z 3 z  
ayasmayān me vimataṁ yuṣmadbhyām mahat kṛtaṁ  
namasā namasenyam |  
tenā pari śrayāmahe tanvo rakṣatu sarvataḥ z  
bahv idam anyad viṣṭhitam tasya kāmam vi viddhatā  
z 4 z

anyasmayaṁ vatsa kṛṇve dvāraṁ kṛṇve ayammayam.  
khilān ayasmayān kṛṇva te no rakṣatu sarvataḥ  
bahv idam anyad viṣṭhitam tasya kāmāṁ vi vidvatā |  
kāṇḍaḥ 2 z

Some corrections will appear certain or highly probable: as rakṣantu in 3d and 5d, tan no in 4d, varma for vatsa in 5a (margin suggests vatma), khilān in 5c; and some form of vyadh, perhaps vidhyata, at end of 4 and 5 (cf. above, 20. 2).

This seems to be a charm to make strong a house or a fortification.

38.

Ś. 6. 21. plus 6. 137. 3.

imā yāḥ tisraḥ pṛivīs tāsāṁ bahavo maruttamā |  
tāsāṁ asi tvaco haṁ sam u jacobha bheṣajam. z 1 z

Read: imā yās tisraḥ pṛthivīs tāsāṁ †bahavo maruttamā |  
tāsāṁ adhi tvaco haṁ sam u jagrabhaṁ bheṣajam z 1 z

For b Ś. has tāsāṁ ha bhūmir uttamā, which is probably the reading at the base of the Päipp. corruption. In pāda d of Ś. bheṣajam stands first.

śreṣṭham asi vīrudhānām vasiṣṭham bheṣajānām |  
yajño bhaga eva yāmeṣu deveṣu varuṇo yathā z 2 z

Read bheṣajānām in b, and iva in c.

Ś. has the genitives in the first hemistich reversed; and it has some for yajño.

revatīr nādhiṣṭhā śiṣāsantīs śiṣāsata |  
etāsva keśavardhanīr atho stu keśadr̥ṇhaṇī |

Read: revatīr anādhṛṣṭā śiṣāsantīs śiṣāsata |  
etā stha keśavardhanīr atho stha keśadr̥ṇhaṇī z 3 z

In the first hemistich Ś. has anādhṛṣaḥ śiṣāsavaḥ śiṣāsatha: in the second uta stha keśadr̥ṇhaṇīr atho ha keśavardhanīḥ.

f12a dr̥ṇha mūlamasūgram yatsā maddham yamarūsadhe  
keśavardhanam asy ātharvaṇam. keśadr̥ṇhaṇam asy  
ātharvaṇam. z kāṇḍaḥ 3 z

Read: *dr̥ṇha m̐lam āgr̥am̐ yacchā madhyam̐ yāmayaūṣadhe |*  
*keśavardhanam̐ asy ātharvaṇam̐ keśadr̥ṇhaṇam̐ asy ath-*  
*arvaṇam̐ z 4 z kāṇḍaḥ 3 z*

In b Ś. has *vi madhyam̐* °. There is no parallel for the second hemistich as given here; but cf. above, 8. 4.

## 39.

These stanzas appear in TS. 2. 4. 5. 1.

*agne gobhir̐ nāsahīndo rathyaśadasvi nah̐ |*  
*indro dhartā gr̥heṣu nah̐ z 1 z*

T has *gobhir*.

For the first hemistich TS. has *agne gobhir na ā gahīndo*  
*pustya̐ juṣasva nah̐*; it does not seem improbable that this, with  
*madasva* for *juṣasva*, is the reading of the Pāipp.

Pāda a is quoted in ApŚ. 17. 5. 1 and 19. 25. 15.

*savitā ya sahasriyaḥ sa no gr̥heṣu rapyatu |*  
*apustam̐ eva tvāvasu z 2 z*

Read *yas* in a; and for c ā *pūṣā* *etv ā vasu*.

TS. has *rāraṇat* in b.

*tvastā yo vṛṣabho yavā sa no gr̥heṣṭa rāraṇat.*  
*sahasreṇa śatena ca z 3 z*

In a read *yuvā*, and in b *gr̥heṣu*.

For c TS. has *sahasreṇāyutena ca*; and *vṛṣā* at end of a.

*dhūtā dadhātu no rayīm īśāno jāgatas pātih̐*  
*sā naṣ pūrṇéna yacchatu z kāṇḍaḥ 3 z*

Read ° *yacchatu z 4 z kāṇḍaḥ 4 z*

This stanza is No. 3 in TS. It occurs also in Ś. 7. 17. 1; TS.  
 3. 3. 11. 2; KS. 13. 16; ApMB. 2. 11. 1. Pāda a alone is  
 quoted a number of times. All texts save Ś. and KS. have  
*dadātu* in a, and all save Ś. have *vāvanat* in c.

## 40.

Kāuś. 133. 3.

*mamabhā mitrāvaruṇā mamobhe indrāvṛhaspatī |*  
*mama tvastā ca pūṣā ca mamāiva savitā vaśe z 1 z*

In a read *mamobhā*, in b *mamobhendrā* °.

mama viṣṇuś ca somaś ca somaś ca mamāiva maruto  
bhuvān |  
sarasvātś ca bhagaś ca viśve devā vaśe mamama z 2 z

Delete second somaś ca in a, read bhuvan in b, and mama in  
d. Kāuś. has bhavan in b.

mamobhe dyāvapṛthivī antarikṣaṁ svar mama |  
manemās sarvā oṣadhīr āpās sarvā vaśe mama | 3 z

Read āpas in d.

mama gāvo mamāśvā mamājās cāvayaś ca |  
mamāiva puruṣā bhavaṁ mamedaiṁ sarvaṁ ātmanvad  
f12b etat prāṇad vaśe mama z 4 z kṛ 5 z anu 8 z

In c read bhavan. Kāuś. has ejat in e.

#### 41.

Kāuś. 72. 14; TS. 4. 2. 1. 2-4; VS. 12. 7-10; MS. 1. 7. 1: 109.  
12; KS. 16. 8.

agnibhyāṁ vartitv abhi nā vabhṛtsva  
āyusā varcasā sanyā medhayā prajāyā dhanena z

In b T has vartasva.

For the first hemistich read agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi na ā va-  
vṛtsva.

This stanza appears also in ŚB. 6. 7. 3. 6.

The stanza in Kāuś. reads as given here. In b TS. has abhi  
na ā vartasva; KS. abhi no ni vartasva; MS. abhi mā vartasva;  
others abhi mā ni vartasva. RV. 4. 31. 4a is abhi na ā vavṛtsva.  
The variants of the second hemistich are unimportant, except  
that ŚB. has something entirely different.

agne jātavedaś cataṁ te satv āvṛta sahasraṁ ca upāvṛtaḥ  
adhā puṣṭasyāśānaḥ punar no rayim ā kṛdhi |

T has śataṁ and santv.

Read, with T, śataṁ and santv; also āvṛtas, ta for ca, and  
puṣṭasyeśānaḥ.

Kāuś. omits santv āvṛtas: all save Kāuś. have agne aṅgiraḥ °.  
For the second hemistich VS., MS. and KS. have adhā poṣasya  
poṣeṇa punar no naṣṭam ā kṛdhi punar no rayim ā kṛdhi; TS. has  
tāsām poṣasya °. Note further Ś. 6. 77. 3, jātavedo ni vartaya

śatañ te santv āvṛtaḥ | sahasrañ ta upāvṛtas tābhir naḥ punar ā  
kṛdhi. This occurs MS. 9. 4. 1, with punar no rayim ā kṛdhi  
for d.

sahá rayyá ní vartasvāgne pínvasva dhárayā  
vi\*vápsvyā viśvátas pári

Read viśvapsnyā, and punctuate; in the ms. the next stanza  
joins on to this one without a break. This stanza is No. 4 in  
all texts save Kāuś.

TS. has viśvapsniyā; others as here.

This stanza and the next occur further in SV. 2. 1183, 1182;  
VS. 12. 41, 40; TS. 1. 5. 3. 3; MS. 1. 7. 4: 112. 11-17; KS.  
8. 14; 9. 1; LŚ. 3. 5. 11.

punár ūrjā vavṛtsva púnar agniviśáyusā  
púnar náṣ pāhy áñhasaḥ z 1 z kā 1 z

Read: púnar ūrjā vavṛtsva púnar agna iśáyusā |  
púnar naṣ pāhy áñhasaḥ z 4 z kā 1 z

All texts save Kāuś. have ni vartasva in a; in c TS. has pāhi  
viśvataḥ.

#### 42.

VS. 11. 77-80; TS. 4. 1. 10. 2ff.; MS. 2. 7. 7: 83. 15; KS. 16. 7.

yás sēnābhītvarīr āvyādhínīr guṇā utá  
yaś cenó yás ca táskarās táñs te agnīr vi dadhāmy āsi

In a read sēnā abhītvarīr, in b úgaṇā, in c yás stenó, and in d  
agne ví: for āsi possibly āsāni is good.

For a see further MS. 3. 1. 9: 12. 15; KS. 19. 10 (bis). In  
c the other texts have plurals; and they have ° āpi dadhāmy  
āsyè for d.

vī jambhāir malimnāun agre dāñṣṭrābhyām táskarān  
ubha  
hánūbhyām stenār maghava táñs tvām khāda súkhā-  
datām z

T has uta in b.

Read: ví jambhāir malímlūn agne dāñṣṭrābhyām táskarān utá |  
hánūbhyām stenān maghavas táñs tvām khāda súkhā-  
ditān z 2 z

For a MS. and KS. have *dañṣṭrābhyām* °; VS. and TS. omit agne. For b VS. and TS. have *jambhyāis* °, KS. *jambhyebhis* °, and MS. *jambhābhyām* taskaram uta. In c all other texts have *bhagavas*. MS. has *sukhāditam* in d.

yé grāmeṣu malímlava stenámās táskarā vāne  
yé kákṣeṣv aghāyāvās tāns te gne pari dādḥāsy āsínī |

In the first hemistich read yé grāmeṣu malímlavas stenásas °; in the second ° aghāyāvās tāns te 'gne pári dadḥāmy āsínī.

All other texts have *janeṣu* in a, and have for d tāns te dadhāmi jambhayoh.

f13a yó asmábhyam arātīyābhyās ca no dvēṣad vijjānma  
āsādaṣ krāvýádo rípūns tán agne sám dāha tvām z 4 z  
kāṇḍa\* \*

T has arātīyād and dveṣad.

In a read arātīyād, in b dveṣad dvijānmā, and in c krāvýádo.

ŚB. 6. 6. 3. 10 gives this stanza and also the first pādas of the other three. In b other versions have *dveṣate janah*. For cd other versions have *nindād yo asmān dīpsāc ca sarvaṁ taṁ masmasū kuru*; VS. and ŚB. have *dhīpsāc*; MS. and KS. have *sarvāns tām*, MS. has *mṛsmṛsā*, and KS. *maṣmaṣā*.

#### 43.

ā krandaṃ dhanapate ud enam adatāsuta |  
arvāñcam punar ā kṛdhi | yathāham kāmāye tathā z

For adatāsuta I have no suggestion: remove colon after c. Pāda a occurs in Ś. 2. 36. 6a.

parimantaṣ pari dhāvā akantaṣ punar ā kṛdhi |  
atho sindraś cāgniś cāsum ā nayatān iha z

T has akartaṣ in b.

Probably we may read *pari dhāva*, but for *parimantaṣ* and *akantaṣ* I have no suggestion: in the second hemistich read 'sindraś, cāsum, and nayatād.

ekātka eka kāmāya asmāi kāmāya hāyase |  
tenu me viśvadhāvīryā sam ā nayatād iha z kāṇḍaḥ 3 z

In c read *tena*. In the first hemistich we might read *hāyase*: possibly *ekātka* conceals some form of *ekātman*. The whole



hymn is so corrupt that any suggestion must be offered with reserve: it seems to be a charm to bring back a recreant lover.

## 44.

Against snake-poison.

asitasya tayimātasya babhror uporakasya ca |  
sarvā viśasya dhāmāṃ vradhnevāgni samivare z

Read tāimātasya in a, and upodakasya in b; in c dhāmāni is probably a safe correction; for d I have thought of budhnevāgne samī kare, but it seems futile.

The first hemistich occurs Ś. 5. 13. 6 (see also this ms., f 105a l. 6). Ś. has apodakasya.

iṣṭkādanta durlabhā kiṃ me sakhāyam ā tudā |  
namāmi śacyāgataṃ sacīnaṃ viśadūṣaṇaṃ z

Read durlabha in a, tudāḥ in b, and viśadūṣaṇam in d; for sacīnaṃ sakhīnāṃ might be possible.

yat tālavyojati saṃ sisikṣe viṣaṃ tvam  
trayastudā rudāmasi babhruko nakulas tvat. z

For a I would suggest yat tālu vy ajati; in b read tvam, in c trayastudā nudāmasi: tvat in d may be a corruption.

trayo vāi asmat sakhāyo babhruko nakulas tvat. |  
te sarve asya vātayaṃ āheyas arasaṃ viṣaṃ z 4 z kā 4 z

Read trayo in a, vātayan in c; in d āheyas must be changed at least to āheyam; read viṣam.

## 45.

Fever-charm.

sārasvataṃ vṛṣaṇaṃ babhruvakṣo sītarūre tanvā pasyati  
me |  
anvedukaṃ sadamtaṃ tvā tṛtīyaka huve namasyaṃ saha-  
devam apsujaṃ z

The margin has rukāṃ for (anve-)dukaṃ.

Read: sārasvataṃ vṛṣaṇaṃ babhruvakṣaś sītarūre tanvaṃ paś-  
yanti me |  
anyedyuṣkaṃ sadamdiṃ tvā tṛtīyakaṃ huve namasyaṃ  
mahādevam apsujaṃ z 1 z

f13b yo apsujo aruṇo mānuṣe jane viveśa babhru harṣayiṣṇur  
akṣata |  
śītarūrāya taruṣayiṣṇage juṣa śīrṣa sū te śraṁ namo stu  
devāḥ z

Read: yo apsujo aruṇo mānuṣe jane viveśa babhrur harṣayiṣṇur  
akṣataḥ |  
śītarūrāya taruṣayiṣṇave juṣe śīrṣaṁ mā te śraman namo  
'stu devāḥ z 2 z

yo harṣayaṁ janjabha svedano vaśī vaśa prahāraḥ śīta-  
rūrā śiṣema nu |  
so smabhyaṁ mṛtvena prehi śoṣito ya vayo vayaṁ dviṣ-  
mas tam abhi pra janam z

Read jajābha in a; vaśa prahāraḥ I cannot solve. In c I have  
thought of sṛtvā, but it is not very probable: for d we might  
read yaṁ vayaṁ dviṣmas tam abhi pra janam; or perhaps some  
form of gam is to be restored at the end of d.

namas te vidmane kāśanāya yato yatas surabhe saṁ  
babhūvatha |  
sa no mā hiṁsin namo stu tubhyaṁ śīrṣaktyād iha pāra-  
yānā z kāṇḍaḥ 4 z anu 9 z

In a read kāśanāya, and in b surabhes saṁ babhūvitha: 'stu  
in c, and iha pālaya naḥ in d. The number of the kāṇḍa  
should be 5.

#### 46.

Prayer for a liberal giver.

asya tvaṁ dadatas soma rājam vardeva ta tvaṁ pari  
pāhi viśvataḥ |  
yo vrahmaṇo rādho piddho dadāt tasya somam pratad  
dīrgham āyuh z

In b T has vandeva, in c d viddho dadātu sya.

In ab read rājan varmeva tam; in c viddho 'dadāt: for pratad  
in d pra tara would suit well, or possibly pra dadāt.

asya somam pratad dīrgham āyur ahānīva sūryo vāsa-  
rāṇi |  
sūsyāt suśrūn nāśayād vidhmano viṣam bahiś śalyas  
carati rogo smāt. z

T gives *suśrūr* in c.

For *pratad* see st. 1; in c so 'smāt *susron* may be possible; read *veśmano* for *vidhmano*, and 'smāt.

*dānaṁ tṛṣṇāyāḥ pari pāta viddham dānaṁ kṣudho dāna  
saṁdeva martyāḥ  
aviṣkando bhavati yo dadātt ā pyāyate papur dakṣiṇayā z*

In b read *dānaṁ saṁdevā mṛtyāḥ*; in c *aviṣkandho* and 'dadāt: *papurir* might be better in d.

f14a ā *pyāyatāṁ papur dakṣiṇayā varṇeva syūtāṁ pari pātu  
viśvataḥ z z  
bahir viśaṁ tan me tasya sroṣatāṁ śalyod dhārayasmāt.*

In c it might be better to read *tam etasya*; in d read *śalyā ud dhārayāsmāt*: for *sroṣatāṁ* I have nothing.

RV. 1. 31. 15b equals b, except *pāsi* for *pātu*.

*vrahma śarvyām upa bādhatām ito dabhāt kṛlān nāvam  
ivādisumbī z  
tasmāi dadad dīrgham āyus kṛprāṣkṛ śataṁ janaś śarado  
jīvatād iha |*

In a read *śaravyām* *apa*; for *ivādisumbī* in b I have no suggestion [perhaps *ivāmbhasi*?—Ed.], nor for *kṛprāṣkṛ* in c.

*yadā dāti pra dadāti yadā vrahmā prati grhṇāti rādho  
syā |  
ā dadūr vīndyād upahatyā rātis sarve yajña upa tiṣṭh-  
antu sākāṁ z 6 z kā 1 z*

Read *yadā dadāti* in a, and 'sya in b; *pāda* c seems hopelessly corrupt; in d read *yajñā* and *sākam*.

#### 47.

A charm against sorceries.

*vyāghrarūpas surabhis sinhasya retasā kṛta |  
madhye pṛthivyāṁ niṣṭhita sam agacchad yātudānyā |*

T has *sinhasya* in b.

Read *sinhasya* and *kṛtaḥ* in b; *pṛthivyāḥ* and *niṣṭhitas* in c; *yātudhānyā* in d.

abhipretam āpa vyaktāpade | gr̥bhāyam āpade |  
atrāiva sarvā jambhayā yaś kaś ca yātudhānyaḥ z

For the first hemistich I suggest as a possibility the reading abhipretam āpa vyaktam agr̥bhāyam āpade; in c read jambhaya, and in d yāś kās: the margin has dhānaḥ but the feminine is retained because of st. 1d and st. 3d.

pratibodhaś caturakṣas sraktiyo srameva velubhṛt.  
pratiēṣ kṛtyākṛtyā amūṣ kṛtyākṛtaṁ jahi |

The first hemistich appears again on f22a, hymn No. 76, thus: pratibodhaś caturakṣo \* \* \* śrameva vīdubhṛta (T. has °trta); we may read then in b sraktyo and vīdubhṛt, leaving śrameva doubtful. For the second hemistich read pratiēṣ kṛtyā ākṛtyā-mūṣ kṛtyākṛto jahi: this is Ś. 10. 1. 6cd except amūn for amūṣ; also Ś. 10. 1. 31d.

kṛtyākṛtaṁ vālugināṁ mūlino śapathesāṁ z  
indras tu sarvāns tān hantu sattvaghna bhavām iva z  
4 z kā 2 z

Read valaginanāṁ mūlināṁ; and, if śapathesāṁ cannot stand, read śapathēyyam; these changes will give the hemistich as in Ś. 5. 31. 12; cf. Ś. 10. 1. 31. For pāda d I have nothing.

48.

Ś. 7. 56. 5-7, with a new stanza for No. 3.

f14b rasasya kārkoṭasya nīcīvasyopasarpata |  
viṣo hi sarvam ādiṣy ayothenam ājijabham

Read: arasasya kārkoṭasya nīcīnasyopasarpataḥ |  
viṣam hi sarvam ādiṣy atho enam ājijabham z 1 z

In a Ś. has śarkoṭasya; in c it has viṣam hy asyādiṣy.

na te bāhavo raso sti nī śīrṣe nota madhyataḥ |  
kim idaṁ pāṣayāsūyā pratse bibhṛṣy arbhakam |

The margin gives ra te, and pāpa for pāṣa°.

T has nota in b, and bhīṛṣy in d.

In a read bāhvo and 'sti, in b na: for the second hemistich read kim idaṁ pāpayāmuyā pueche bibharsy arbhakam.

Ś. has bāhvor balam asti in a, and atha kim pā° in c.

yat te yaskañdhān upa tasthāu vijāmni yaś ca te parāu  
jaśā mityum ivādr̥tañ malān te prati dadhmasi z

In a read yat te skandhān, in b vijāmni and perhaps paruṣi  
or parvani: I can do nothing with c, and can only suggest  
pālān as a possibility in d.

idān bhittvā pipilikā vi vṛsyanti marya |  
sarvye tara plavātha sātkoṭam arasañ viṣaṇ zz 4 z 2 z

Read: adanti tvā pipilikā vi vṛscanti mayūryaḥ |  
sarve bhala bravātha sārkoṭam arasañ viṣam z 4 z kṛ 3 z

This is the reading of Ś., and at first sight it may seem  
extreme thus to restore, but well known confusions of sibilants,  
of r and l, and in this ms. of bh and t, will account for every  
change.

## 49.

St. 1 and 2=Ś. 7. 50. 8 and 9.

kṛtañ me dakṣiṇe haste savye me jayāhita |  
gojita bhūyāsam aśvajit kṛtañcayo hiraṇyajit. z

In b read jaya āhitaḥ, and in c gojid.

Ś. has jayo me savya ° in b, and dhanamjayo ° in d.

akṣaṣ phalavatīñ divaṇ datta gāñ kṣīriṇīm iva |  
sañ mā kṛtasya dhārāya dhanu snatneva nāhatā z

T has akṣūṣ, dhārayā, and suānneva.

Read akṣūṣ in a, divaṇ in b, dhārayā in c, and snāveva nah-  
yata in d.

In the margin there is a gloss kṣīravatīñ gāñ dattvā. In a  
Ś. has dyuṣam; dīvam as accusative does not seem impossible,  
although it is not quotable.

ubhāu hastāu pratidinnāu vrahmaṇārombhāmasi |  
kalir enaṁ yathā hanad āsya vado bharāmahi |

In a read pratidīvno, in b °rambh°, and in d vedo bharāmahāi.

ā bhadrāñ tvūparam uta tretāñ parā kalīm  
kṛtañ me hastāhitomī sāumanasāu sahā z 4 z

In a read dvūparām; both sense and meter seem to demand  
some such word as dehi or bhara, which might be inserted

before uta. In c we probably ought to read hasta; and for āhitomī I have thought of āhitam amā.

50.

Charm for the recovery of something lost.

f15a yadetha paretha yat te tan ma nīyate |  
tatas tvā punar athāñcam bhūtasyājīgamut pati |

In b read me, in c arvāñcam, and in d °ājīgamat patiḥ: for a I can do nothing. [Could not the reading be yadeyatha pareyatha?—ED.]

ā tvā nayā bhūtapatir ā devo vṛhaspatih  
ādityās sarve tvā neṣam viśve devās suvarcasah

Read nayād in a, and neṣan in c.

anupatis sarasvatī bhago rājāsy ā nayā |  
śālā mānasya patnīr ivāsyā namas karat. z

In a read annapatis, which is given by T; in b read nayah; in d asyā might be better.

Pāda c occurs with accusative, in Ś. 9. 3. 21d.

yas tvā nināya neṣas sa u tvehā nayāt punah  
mano hi vrahmāṇo vidur viśvakarmā manīṣiṇah. z 4 z kā  
5 z a 10 z

In a neṣat would be a far better reading.

51.

gātor havir janayanta stha indrāgram jyeṣṭha pary agā-  
meha devāh  
sugāto gāto ta sā pathā api māssabhyam indram dadati  
pracetāh

In the first hemistich we may read janayantas, jyeṣṭham, and agameha; for the second sugāto gātu uta sa panthā api so 'sma-bhyam indram dadāti pracetāh: there may be a corruption in indrāgram.

agnir nah puraetā tvajasā vṛhaspatih satyā astu nas sakhā  
indro havir vṛtrahanaṁ purandarām bhagenābhya bha-  
gavantas tvām

In a read *tv ojasā*, in *b satyo*, and in *c purāṇḍaraṇ*. The following is a possible reading: *indrāṇ huve vṛtrahaṇaṇ purāṇḍaraṇ bhagenābhy agāma bhagavantas tvām*.

*tvām sona divyo nṛeakṣās sugam assabhyāṇ patho nu  
gaccha |  
abhi no gotraṇ viduṣīva neṣu acchā no vācam uṣatī  
jigbhāsi |*

In the first hemistich read *sugāṇ asmaabhyāṇ patho* 'nu, in the second *neṣo* 'eccha, and also *uṣatīṇ jigāsi*.

This stanza occurs in *Kāuś*. 4. 2, with *anu khyah* in *b* and *viduṣa iva* in *c*.

f15b *imām agne śārāṇiṇ mīmṛṣo na imām ādhvānaṇ yām  
āgāma dūrām |  
āpīṣ pitā prāsatis somyāna bhramādasp ṛśikṛṇ mārtyā-  
nām. z 4 z kā z*

Read: *imām agne śārāṇiṇ mīmṛṣo ma imām ādhvānaṇ yām  
āgāma dūrām |  
āpīṣ pitā prāmatis somyānāṇ bhṛmir asy ṛśikṛṇ mārtyā-  
nām z 4 z kā 1 z*

This stanza appears *RV*. 1. 31. 16; *LŚ*. 3. 2. 7; and the first hemistich in *Ś*. 3. 15. 4, with *pāda b* *yam adhvānam agāma dūrām*: *AG*. 1. 23. 25 has *pāda a*, and *N*. 6. 20 has *pāda d*. It seems worth noting that 'in *d* the manuscript reading of *LŚ*. is *bhrimir asprṣikṛṇ*.

## 52.

*ye purastād ā syandete gāvāu svariṣabhe yava kṛṇomy  
arvāṇī ahasyaśvavārād anīyasī z ye dharād ā syan-  
dete ye paścād ā syandete uttarād ā syandete gāvāu  
svarṣabhe yavakṛṇomy arvāṇī ahasyaśśvāvārāhān-  
īyasī z kā 2 z*

## 53.

*TS*. 5. 7. 4. 3f. plus *Ś*. 6. 64. 2.

*agne yaśasvin yaśasaṇ vardhayemam indrāvatiṇ upacir-  
mihāvā |  
ayaṇ mūrdhā parameṣṭhī suvarcās samānānām uttama-  
śloko astu z*

In b read upacitīm ihā vaha.

For a TS. has agne yaśasvin yaśasemam arpayā: and in b apacitīm.

dhātā vidhātā paramoṭha saṁdṛk prajāpatiḥ parameṣṭhi  
virāt.

stomaś chandānsi navido ham āhus te asmāi rāṣṭram upa  
san namantu |

In a read paramoṭha, in c stomāś and nivido mām.

Pāda a, as here, also RV. 10. 82. 2b; VS. 17. 26b; TS. 4. 6. 2. 1b; N. 10. 26b. KS. 18. 1b has paramo na. MS. 2. 10. 3b; 134. 3 has dhātā vidhātā. Pāda b, as here, also Ś. 4. 11. 7b; 8. 5. 10c; TS. has virājā. In c TS. has ma āhus, and for d it has etasmāi rāṣṭram abhi saṁ namāma (cf. next stanza).

bhadram icchantu ṛṣayaḥ sarvidas tapo dīkṣām upa ni  
sedur agre |

tato rāṣṭram balam ojaś ca jātāni tad asmāi devā upa  
san namantu z

In a read svarvidas.

This stanza appears also in Ś. 19. 41. 1 and TA. 3. 11. 9; Ś. reads as here except for icchantu in a. In the first hemistich TS. and TA. read thus: bhadram paśyanta upa sedur agre tapo dīkṣām ṛṣayaḥ suvarvidah; and they have in c kṣatram for rāṣṭram, and in d abhi for upa.

upā vartadhvam upa netu sarve ayaṁ ca tyattām adhi-  
patir vo stu |

f16a samānaṁ mantram abhi mantrayādvām imaṁ paścād upa  
jivātha sarve z

In a read upa na ita, in b 'stu, and in c mantrayadhvam.

TS. reads: abhy ā vartadhvam upa meta sākam ayaṁ śāstā-dhipatir vo astu | asya vijñānam anu saṁ rabhadhvam imaṁ paścād anu jivātha sarve.

anyāis ca z

samānu mantras sameti samāne samānaṁ manah saha  
cittam iṣām |

samānu mantram abhi mantra iva samānena haviṣā  
juhomi z kā zz 3 z



For a read *saṁāno* mantras samitis, *saṁānī*; in b read *eṣām*, in c *saṁānaṁ* and mantraye *vas*, and in d *saṁānena vo*.

This stanza occurs also RV. 10. 191. 3; MS. 2. 2. 6: 20. 12; TB. 2. 4. 4. 5. In the first hemistich RV. and TB. read as here; Ś. and MS. have *vratam* for *manas*. In the second hemistich RV. reads as here; MS. has *saṁānaṁ kratum abhi mantrayadhvam* °; Ś. has for c what is d here, and for d has *saṁānaṁ ceto abhi saṁ viśadhvam*; the second hemistich in TB. is *saṁānaṁ keto abhi saṁ rabhadhvaṁ sañjñānena vo haviṣā yajāmaḥ*.

## 54.

Ś. 19. 37, with a new stanza prefixed.

tvān agne prāmatis tvān pitāsi naḥ tvān sākha yajyo  
si jātavedaḥ  
tvān viśvavid gātravit kavir viśvasā ubhāyās santv  
asme z

In b read *sakhā yājyo* 'si, in c *viśvavid* and *kavir*, in d *asmé* and possibly *viśvapā*: *gātuvit* would be better than *gātravit*.

Pāda a occurs in RV. 1. 31. 10a.

idaṁ varco gñinā dhattam āgaṁ bhargo yaśas sa ojo  
vayo balaṁ  
tryastriṁśad yāni vīryāni tāny agniḥ z pra dadātu me

In a read 'gñinā and āgaṁ, in b *saha ojo vayo balaṁ*; *trayas*° in c: remove the period to the end of d.

This stanza occurs also MS. 2. 3. 4: 31. 9; KS. 40. 3; TB. 2. 5. 7. 1; and one similar in AŚ. 6. 12. 2. All the versions have *dattam* in a; MS. and TB. have *āgāt*, as also AŚ. which begins *idaṁ rādho*; KS. has *ā mā varco* 'gñinā *dattam etu*. Ś. has b as here; TB. and AŚ. have *bhargas* and *yaśas* interchanged, and add *ca* at end; MS. has for b *mahi rādhaḥ saha ojo balaṁ yat*, which KS. varies *ojo mahad balaṁ*. Ś. has the rest as here except for *ca* after *yāni* in c; KS. omits *yāni* in c. MS., TB., and AŚ. have an equivalent of the second hemistich of the next stanza.

varco dehi me tanvān sahojo vayo balaṁ |  
indriyāya tvā karmaṇe vīryāya prati grhṇāmi śataśāra-  
dāya |

For b read saha ojo vayo balam.

The first hemistich appears also in KS. 40. 3. Ś. has in a varca ā dheli tanvañ, and the rest as here. KS. has varca ā dhāyi me tanūḥ saha ojo mahad balam.

ūrje tvā balāya dāujase sahase tvā  
abhibhūya tvā rāṣṭrabhr̥tyāya pary uṣāmi śataśārādāya |

For dāujase read tvāujase; in c read abhibhūyāya, and in d ūhāmi.

ṛtubhiḥ tvārtavāir āyuse varcase tvā |  
sainvatsarasya tejasā tena mohana kṛṇmasi z kṛ 2 z

In d read sainhanu. The kṛṇda number is 4.

The stanza also occurs Ś. 5. 28. 13 and HG. 1. 11. 2; HG. omits tvā in b, has dhāyasā for tejasā in c, and for d has tena sann anu gṛṇṇāsi.

#### 55.

A love-charm.

idam āñjanam ānaje śāulūlum ākanikradam |  
f16b abhi sā cakranda bhagarābho vāsītām iva z

In c read mā and bhaga, in d ṛṣabho; cakrandad would seem better too. Though there is much against it, for śāululum I would suggest 'tholulim; cf. Ś. 3. 19. 6 for ululim.

aśvas kanikradad yathā pratyāñ ma bhagāgamat. |  
tam āha preṇyā putram ivopasthādhikam z

In b read mā bhaga āgamat, in c probably preṇā and in d °stha adhikam.

Pāda a appears in Ś. 2. 30. 5c.

akṣo me madhusaṅkaśe jihvā me madusūdinī |  
nasor adhi pramandanam datsu me sāraghan madhu |

In a read akṣyau and °kāśe.

Ś. 7. 36. 1a is akṣyāu nāu madhusaṅkāśe. Cf. also the following, HG. 1. 24. 6: madhu he madhv idam madhu jihvā me madhu-vādinī | mukhe me sāraghan madhu datsu sainvananam kṛtam.

madhuman mamānyosanam jaghanam madhuman mama |  
sām atikṛtvam vāvanaś śākhā madhumatīm iva z 4 z  
kṛ 5 z a 11 z

Margin has samā correcting a, and dhuman ma | correcting b.

In mamānyosanaṁ the first part is probably mama, but the rest is puzzling. In c read mām atikṛtaṁ, and in d śākhām.

With the second hemistich cf. Ś. 1. 34. 4cd, where c reads mām it kila tvaṁ vanāḥ; it is very possible that Pāipp. has not a variant in atikṛtvaṁ, but merely a corruption of the Ś. reading: in Ś. the meter would be improved by vāvanah.

## 56.

A rearrangement of Ś. 3. 19. 6-8.

prayatā jayatā naraḥ ugrā vas santu bāhavaḥ  
indro vaś śarma yacchaty anādhṛsyā yathāsata z

In a we should probably read pretā, though prayatā seems possible; read nara, bāhavaḥ, and in d yathāsatha.

This stanza occurs also RV. 10. 103. 13; SV. 2. 1212; VS. 17. 46; TS. 4. 6. 4. 4. In pāda a all have pretā save TS. which has upa pretā; in b TS. has sthirā where others have ugrā. In c all have yacchatu: b and c as here interchange in RV., SV., VS.

úd dharṣantām mághavadhyátudāny út sátvanām sāmā-  
kánāñsi |  
úd dharṣantām vājinām vājinābhy ád váirāṇām jáyatām  
etu ghóṣaḥ z

Margin corrects to maghavan yātu in a.

Read: úd dharṣantām maghavaññ áyudhāny út sátvanām mā-  
makánām mánāñsi |

úd dharṣantām vājinām vājināny úd vīrāṇām jáyatām  
etu ghóṣaḥ z z z

This stanza occurs also RV. 10. 103. 10; SV. 2. 1208; VS. 17. 42; TS. 4. 6. 4. 4. In a all these have dharṣaya, and I am tempted to restore this in Pāipp. Ś. 5. 20. 8b is ud dharṣaya satvanām áyudhāni. In b TS. has mahāñsi, others as here. For c others have ud vṛtrahan °, but Ś. 3. 19. 6a is ud dharṣantām maghavañ vājināni; for d Ś. 3. 19. 6 reads as here, others ud rathānām jáyatām yantu ghóṣaḥ, save that TS. has ° etu ghóṣaḥ.

prthag ghoṣā ulayaṣ ketumantu ud iratām  
devā indrajyeṣṭhā maruto yantu senayā |

In a read ululayaṣ, in b ketumanta.

These are the last four pādas of Ś. 3. 19. 6.

avasṛṣṭā pārū patā śaravye vrāhmaṣaṁsite |  
jāyāmītrān prā padyasva māmāṣām kaṁ cānoc chiṣaḥ z  
z ekādaśānuvāke prathamas sūktaḥ z z

Read: avasṛṣṭā pārū pata śaravye vrāhmaṣaṁsite |

jāyāmītrān prā padyasva māmāṣām kaṁ cānoc chiṣaḥ z  
4 z ekādaśānuvāke prathamas sūktaḥ z

This stanza occurs also RV. 6. 75. 16; SV. 2. 1213; VS. 17. 45; TS. 4. 6. 4. 4; TB. 3. 7. 6. 23; ApŚ. 3. 14. 3; pāda a also Vāit. 34. 17; AG. 3. 12. 18. Of these TB. and ApŚ. have avasṛṣṭaḥ, others as here. In b TS. has °saṁśītā, TB. and ApŚ. śaro brahmaṣaṁśitaḥ, others as here. Pāda c as here occurs: Ś. 3. 19, 8c and 11. 10. 18d; RV., SV., VS. gacchāmītrān °, TS., TB., ApŚ. gacchāmītrān pra viṣa. For d RV., SV., VS. read as here; Ś. 3. 19. 8e māmāṣām moci kaś cana; so Ś. 8. 8. 19d; 11. 9. 20d; 10. 19d; cf. 11. 9. 13c: TS., TB., ApŚ. have māṣām kaṁ cānoc chiṣaḥ.

57.

Ś. 2. 11.

dūṣā dūpir asi hetyā hatir asi menyā menir asi |

Read dūṣir and hetir.

Ś. has dūṣyā, which seems better.

f17a graktiyo si pratisaro si punaścāro si praṭyabhicaraṇo si

Read sraktyo, which is indicated by the marginal srakti.  
And read 'si each time.

Ś. does not have punaścāro 'si.

prathamam abhi cara yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayan  
dviṣmaḥ

Read pratimam or, with Ś., prati tam; also 'smān and vayan.  
Ś. has yaṁ vayan.

sūryad asi varcodhās tanūpānāpyaṣ kṛtyādūṣaṇā z

For sūryad asi I see nothing except the reading of Ś., sūrir asi; for the rest read varcodhās tanūpāna āpyaṣ kṛtyādūṣaṇaḥ. Ś. has sūrir asi varcodhā asi tanūpāno 'si.

śukro si bhrājo si jyotir asi svar asi

āpuniha śreyāṇsīm ati samam krāmā z z dvitīyas  
sūktali z z

Read 'si in a, and in the next, āpuniha śreyāṇsam ati samam krāma. Ś. has jyotir and svar interchanged. The formulae of the last two sets occur frequently, but the variants are not important.

### 58.

Against viṣkandha(?).

viṣkandhasya kāṣṭhasya kardamasya ulūkyā |

apasphānasya kṛtyā yās teṣāṃ tvaṃ radhūgile jahi z z

The ms. corrects to viṣkambh°. Perhaps kārdhvasya in a.

In view of st. 4a it seems possible that the first pāda is viṣkandhasya kāṣṭhasya; I can do nothing for ulūkyā and radhūgile; perhaps apasphāna is the opposite of saṃsphāna, which means "getting fat." There seems to be some reference to demons, in which connection viṣkandha is suitable.

pramaraṇīṣyusaḥavyām kardamaṃ nīlāsākyam |

aghāsāram iva dāruṇam āyusḥ kṛṇomy antaram z

I have no suggestion that is plausible.

vividddhasyā vikarṇasya ṛtasya ca |

triparṇī viśvabheṣajī idam kṛṇotu bheṣajam |

Possible readings are viśīrṇasya and kṛtasya. Sandhi calls for °bheṣajy.

kāṣṭhasya viṣkandhasya apasthāpanabheṣajam |

idam kṛṇomi bheṣajam yathāyam agado mati z 3 z

In d read 'sati. The stanza is No. 4 and the hymn No. 3. The lexicons do not have apasthāpana but it seems fairly suitable here with the sense "driving away."

59.

A charm, possibly against the apacit.

yasmād aṅgāt saṁ śusrāva yad *babhūva* galattakha |  
gāvo vatsam iva jānānās tad upāiti yathāyatham z

In a read susrāva, in c jānānās; in b galuntikā, or °kam, is not impossible; especially in view of st. 2d.

nā sṛgasya pataṅgasya tanmasya mathagāśyaḥ  
f17b venoṣ pāntur monnāsti sṛnmāsya glāur māḥ pacid attav-  
vat. z

Here it can only be said that perhaps at the end of b there is a form of madhyaga: the word glāur is clear and it seems that there is a reference to the apacit.

aham veda yathāsita gilvikā nāma vāsi |  
amun taṁ tvam ito gaccha yam aham dveṣmi pāuruṣam z

In a yad āsitha would best suit the context; gilvikā is not in the lexicons, the nearest to it being tilvikā, a plant name: in d read pūruṣam.

tasyāpi madhyāsida nīlagrīvāsu sedatā |  
vātasyānu plavānam aṣa kasyānu saṁvidam. z

It seems not impossible to read here madhya ā sīdan, and sīdata; or in b even seditha. In c plavanam would be better. This stanza seems to tell whither the apacit(?) shall go.

pīto yaṁtv agruvo nir ato yo tv agruvāḥ  
adharācī ṛtaṣ parā praham glāvam adhusāsam  
nir aham glāvam adhumāsam adharācī ṛtaṣ parā z kā 4 z

The first hemistich probably should read apīto yaṁtv agruvo nir ito yaṁtv agruvāḥ; the rest seems to have expressed the usual idea of driving away the pest.

60.

Seemingly a charm against a co-wife.

abhi tvām aham oṇase indro dasyūn ivābhuvam  
sapatnī naśyatād ito dūram gacchābhy oṣasā |

Read oṇasendro in the first hemistich, sapatnīm in c, and in d gacchāty okasāḥ.

sāsahā idam patyos sāsahīṣu surāv ubhū |  
atho sapatyos sāsahīr yathā naśyāty okasah

To attempt to restore this seems unwise, but it is possible that the original meaning was something like "may I have power over my husband, and may my rival have none, so that she may be driven from the house."

abhibhūr aham āsamam vidvakarmā mahām adāt. |  
aham mitrāṇi kalpayanveṣu grheṣu ryuṣṭharaḥ z

The general sense of this is fairly clear, but to fix the text is another matter: something like this might be possible, abhibhūr aham āsa sam viśvakarmā maho me 'dāt, though it is far from satisfactory. In c kalpayam may be read, and in 'd perhaps tveṣu; for the end of d I have no suggestion.

ut tiṣṭha mama vā idam na tavehāpi kiṁ cana |  
mām cāiva paśyany āyabhy amum ca divi sūryam z kā  
5 z anu 12 z

The only thing that is clear in the first hemistich is a contrast between the speaker and her rival. In c paśyaun āyaty may be read, referring to the man.

#### 61.

A rearrangement of Ś. 3. 11. 5-8.

yas tvā mṛtyur abhy adhatta jāyamāno supāsāthā |  
f18a tan te satyasya hastābhyām idam muñcatu vṛhaspatih z

T has tam te in c.

For b read jāyamānam supāsāyā; read tam in c.

For d Ś. has ud amuñcad bṛhaspatih: these pādas are c-f in Ś.

abhi tvā jarimāhita gām ukṣaṇam ivarja  
ninye yantu mṛtyavo yān āhur itarā yo śataṁ z

In b read iva rajjvā, in c vy anye yantu, and in d itarāṁ śatam.

pra viśataṁ prāṇāpānām anadāvāham iva vrajam.  
śarīram asyāṅgāni jariske nayataṁ yuvaṁ

It seems best to read with Ś. prāṇāpānāv anadāvāhāv; for jariske jarimṇe suggests itself.

The Ś. version of our pāda d is jarase vahataṁ punaḥ. The first hemistich also occurs Ś. 7. 53. 5ab.

yuva stañ prāṇāpānau me sohām iṣṭaṁ mṛtyave |  
 ayañ jarīṣk\* \*adhī ariṣṭa iha vardhatām |

In a read yuvañ; I can offer nothing for pāda b. For c read ayañ jarimṇas śevadhir; this second hemistich occurs only in Ś. 7. 53. 5, and its reading is that offered here.

jarase tvā pari dadhmo jarase nir uḥmasi |  
 jārā tvā bhadrāyānaśad vinya yantu mṛtyavo yān āhur  
 itarā yo śatañ z 5 z kā 10 zz zz

T has bhadrāyān neśad vinye in cd.

In b read uḥmasi; for c perhaps we may read jārā tvā bhadrā yā neśad; the rest as in st. 2. The kāṇḍa is No. 1.

Ś. st. 7 has jarāyāi tvā pari dadāmi jarāyāi ni dhiuvāmi tvā |  
 jarā tvā bhadrā neṣṭa °.

62.

Ś. 3. 11. 1-4; 20. 96. 6-9; RV. 10. 161. 1-4.

mūñcāmi tvā haviṣā jīvanāya kam ajñātayakṣmād uta  
 rājayakṣmā |  
 grāhyā grīhito yady eṣa yatas tata indrāgni pra mumuk-  
 tam ayanam z

In b read rājayakṣmāt, in c grāhyā, in d enam.

Ś. has grāhir jagrāha yady etad enaṁ tasyā °, in 3. 11. 1, but in 20. 96. 6 it has vāitad for yady etad; the latter is also the reading of the RV. Pāda a occurs also ŚŚ. 13. 16. 4; AG. 3. 6. 4.

yadukṣarāyuvamdi vā pareto yadi mṛtyor antikam nīta  
 eva |  
 tam ā harāmi nirṛte upasthād ampārśam enaṁ śataśāra-  
 dāya z

In a the only hope seems to be to read, with Ś. and RV., yadi kṣitāyur yadi vā pareto; in c nirṛter, in d read aspārśam.

sahasrākṣeṇa śatañ vīryeṇa śatāyusāhārṣam ayanam  
 f18b indro yathenañ jarase nayāta viśvasya dūritasya pārañ z

T has yathāinañ in c.

In a it would probably be better to read with Ś. śatavīryeṇa; in b read śatāyusā haviṣāhārṣam enam. Read yathāinañ and nayāti in c, and pāraṁ in d.



RV. and Ś. 20. 96. 8 have śataśāradena in a; in the second hemistich Ś. 3. 11. 3 has ati at the beginning of d; Ś. 20. 96. 8 has śataim yathāinam śarado nayātīndro °; so RV. except yathe-mam. Pāda d here would be improved by ati at the beginning.

śataim jīva śarado vardhamānaś śataim hemantāś chatam  
u vasantān. |

śatam indrāgnī savitā vṛhaspatiś śatāyusā haviṣāhārṣas  
ayanam z kāmāḥ 20 ||

In d read °hārṣam enam. The kāmā is No. 2.

In c Ś. 3. 11. 4 has śataim ta indro agniḥ °; but Ś. 20. 96. 9 and RV. have c as here, while for d they have śatāyusā haviṣe-mam punar duḥ; so also N. 14. 36.

Pāda a also occurs Ś. 7. 53. 2c; ŚB. 5. 1; AdB. 1.

### 63.

Cf. Ś. 10. 5. 42-45.

yat te annam bhuvas pata ākṣita pṛthivīm anu |  
tasya nas tvaṁ bhuvas pate sam pra yaccha prajāpate  
cyātte z

In T the stanza ends rightly with prajāpate, omitting cyātte.

In b we may read ākṣitam, which is perhaps better than ā kṣiyati of Ś.

vyāt te parameṣṭhino vrahmaṇāpīpadāma tam |  
samvatsarasya daṁṣṭrābhyām hetis tva samudād ibhiḥ  
hetis tvaṁ samudād ibhiḥ z

For d read hetis tam sam adhād abhi.

In Ś. these pādas are 42cd and 43ab: Ś. has vāiśvānarasya in c.

yam tvaṁ ṛbhustv āhūtis sam id devī sahīyasī |  
rājño varuṇo si bandho si so mapāmanuṣyāyaṇam amu-  
ṣyāḥ z  
putram ahamne rātriye badhānāḥ |

It seems probable that in the first pāda we have only a corruption of the Ś. reading, iyaṁ tam psātv āhutiḥ; the only doubt is as to ṛbhustv. The rest seems to be nothing more than a corruption of what appears in Ś., thus: rājño varuṇasya bandho 'si | so 'mum āmuṣyāyaṇam amuṣyāḥ putram anne prāṇe badhāna: rātriye is puzzling, but all the rest seems clear enough.

mṛṇo si deva savitur gāyatrenācchandasā | mṛṇāmuṣya  
paśūn dvipadaś catuspadaḥ yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ  
ca vayan dviṣmas te jahitaṁ mṛda tasmāi sā mayi  
mṛda tasmāi durāhāḥ z z kā 3 z

KS. 37. 13, 14 has mṛṇo 'si mṛṇāmuṣya dvipadaś catuspadaḥ, and mṛḍo 'si mṛḍase dvipade catuspade. Read mṛṇo 'si deva savitar gāyatrenā chandasā; dvipadaś, 'smān, vayan: after dviṣmas I can suggest nothing plausible.

64.

f19a ni te padaṁ pade mama ni citte me ta niṣ kṛtuḥ  
adāsaḥ kevalo mama abhiṣā dhāraṇī tava z  
paradena gā mardayanti padenā śambarā rathaṁ |  
padena maryā mattaṁ na eṣo no ha tvat.  
māpa mṛpo mā mā parā mṛpo mānyatrāsmi manaskṛtā |  
yaṁ tvā hi rivabho gāir nākulena parīmasi |  
na tvā kṛṇve saṁ nr̥hane na kurīṇity āupaśena  
tvā damasmi lomni na tvā puṣkayot sṛje z 4 z

The margin gives sṛ opposite st. 3a.

There seems to be no hope of making any sense out of these stanzas; about the only thing to be said is that st. 4 seems to suggest the sphere of Ś. 6. 138, which appears below as No. 68.

65.

Stanzas 3 and 4==Kāuś. 33. 9 and 8.

ghṛtāhūtāḥ prthivīm ā nayeno asmān pra dārdhvocati  
kilbiṣāṇi |  
anāttarās sumanasas suvīra jyog jīvantas tava sakhye  
syāma |

T has °hutāḥ in a, and dārv° in b: I am not sure of rdhv.

In a read °hutaḥ and nayāino; in c anantarās and suvīrā. For pāda b I will venture no suggestion.

aantarema yātudānāntareṇa kimīdi  
naśyāsami triyā vayan sarasvatyā carāmasi z

For the first hemistich we may read antareme yātudhānā antareme kimīdinah. In c read naśyāmasi and probably trayān.

mā te ri khañitā asmāi ca tvā khañmāsi  
 dvīpadaś catuspād asmākañ mā riṣad dēvy oṣadhe z z

The ms. writes pās śa over the first two words of c.

Read riṣan in a, and dvīpāc in c.

This stanza occurs also RV. 10. 97. 20; VS. 12. 95; TS. 4. 2. 6. 5. All save Kāuś. have for a mā vo riṣat khañitā; Kāuś. as here; for b Kāuś. has yasmāi °, others yasmāi cāhañ khañmāni vañ, while VS. 12. 100b has yasmāi ca tvā khañmāny aham. In c RV. and TS. have dvīpac catuspād; so also VSK. 13. 6. 22c: pāda d appears only in Kāuś.

anyā vo anyāñ avatv \* \* nyāsyāv ūpāvata |  
 sadhrīcīs suvrātā bhūtvā āsyāvātī \*īryāñ z kā 5 z a 13 z

T gives full reading, and has vīryē in d.

For b read anyānyāsyā ūpāvata; and in cd read bhūtvāsyā avata vīryām.

Pādas ab, as here, occur also RV. 10. 97. 14; VS. 12. 88; TS. 4. 2. 6. 3; MS. 2. 7. 13: 94. 9; KS. 16. 13: pāda a TB. 2. 8. 4. 8.

#### 66.

Charm with an aśvattha-amulet.

dhruvas tiṣṭha bhuvanasya gopa māsa vyaktā vanaspate |  
 atrāiva tvam iha vayanī suvīrā viśvā mṛdho pi mahatir  
 vyasya

In a read gopā; pāda b is shorter than the others by two syllables, which seem to have stood before masa. In c one would expect tatrāiva; in d read 'pi. I can suggest nothing more.

f19b yo vānaspatyānām adhipatir babhūva yasminñ imā viśvā  
 bhuvanādy ārpitā z  
 tas anajmī madhunā dāivyena yasmā mañimñ nir mame  
 viśvarūpañ |

In b read bhuvanāny, in c tam, in d yasmād and °rūpañ.

imāñ mañimñ viśvajitāñ suvīrañ asmād aśvatthāt pary  
 ud bharāmi  
 yena viśvās pṛtanās sañ jayāsy atho dyamat samitum ā  
 vadāmi z

In a read imāñ, in c jayāmy, and in d probably dyumat samitim.

sabandhuś casabandhuś ca yo na indrābhi dāsati |  
vṛścāsyā tasyāhaṁ mūlaṁ prajāṁ cakṣur atho valam.  
z kṛ 1 z

In a read cāsā°, in c vṛścāmy ā, and in d balam.

The first hemistich occurs above, No. 20 st. 4, which see for references.

67.

Ś. 6. 136, plus 6. 137. 2.

devī devyā jātāsi pṛthivyām adhy oṣadhe |  
tāṁ tvā nitatvi keśebhyo dṛihaṇāyā khanūmasi |

In a read devyām, and nitatni in c.

In a Ś. has adhi jātā, and asi in its stead stands in b.

indras tvā khanatu prathamo varuṇasya duhitubhyaḥ  
dṛiha jātām janayājātām ye jās tān varṣiyasas kṛdhi |

T has duhitṛbhyaḥ in b.

In b read with T, and in d read ye jātās.

Ś. has only the second hemistich, with jātānu varṣ° for d.

yas te keśo vatatas samūlo yaś ca drśyate |  
sarvaṁ taṁ viśvabheṣajyāsi śiñcāmi vīrudhā z

In a read 'vatatas, in ed °jyābhi.

In a Ś. has 'va padyate, in b vṛscate, in c idam taṁ.

abhīsunā meyo sta vijāmenānumeṣya  
keyo nana tvāir vardhatām śīrṣṇase asitas pari z 3 z

T has śīrṣṇas te in d.

Read: abhīsunā meyo 'stu vyāmenānumeṣyaḥ |

keśo naḍa tvāir vardhatām śīrṣṇas te asitas pari z kṛ 2 z

Ś. has plurals, āsan standing in a; in c it has keśā naḍā iva.

68.

Ś. 6. 138.

yathā natvaṁ kaśipune yastvo bhindanty aśmanā |  
evā bhinaddi te ṣuṣkāu tasmāi tvām avase huve |

Read naḍam in a; Ś. has striyo in b and this seems to be the only thing to read. In c read bhinadmi and either muṣkāu or śuṣmāu.

Ś. has śepo at end of c, and for d has 'muṣyā adhi muṣkayoḥ: our pāda d occurs Ś. 5. 25. 2d. 'This is st. 5 in Ś.

f20a tvañ vīrudhāñ śreṣṭhatamāmavi śrutasy āuśadhe |  
māmadya pāuruṣaṃ klīvas opaśunam kṛdhi |

T has śrutāsy ośadhe in b.

In ab read śreṣṭhatamābhi śrutāsy ośadhe. In c we may read with Ś. imam me adya pūruṣam; and in d klīvam opaśinam, as in Ś., seems the better reading. Perhaps c might be read mam-adya pūruṣam.

klīvañ kraddhlopaśunam atho kurīṇam kṛdhi |  
ubhābhyām asya grāvābhyām indro bhinattv āṇḍāu z

T has kṛddh° in a and bhinattv in d.

For a read klīvañ kṛdhy opaśinam, grāvabhyām in c, and in d bhinattv.

For the second hemistich Ś. has athāsyendro grāvabhyām ubhe bhinattv āṇḍyāu.

klīva klīvañ tvākarañ vadhre vadhriṃ tvākara surasaṃ  
t\*ākaraśarasūraso si z

kuvīras asya śīrṣṇarṇi kumbhañ cāva ni dadhmasi |

In b read tvākaram arasaṃ tvākaram arasūraso 'si; other possibilities also suggest themselves, and it may be noted that arasūraso 'si looks very like a gloss. In c read kurīram and śīrṣṇi, in d kumbhañ.

Ś. has ° vadhriṃ tvākaram arasūrasaṃ tvākaram; in d it has cābhi.

ete nādāu devakṛte yayos tiṣṭhati vṛṣṭiham |  
te te bhinaddi\* \*mayā amuṣyā\*i \*uṣṇayoḥ z 3 z

In a read nādāu, in b vṛṣṇyam: for the second hemistich te te bhinadmi śamyayāmuṣyā adhi muṣkayoḥ.

Ś. has ye te in a, which is better than ete.

## 69.

The amulet avālipso.

jāyamāno ninrjat sapatnān no dato bhayañ |  
sa vāi sapatnānām sabhā avalipso anāsayat.

For the first hemistich I can suggest nothing plausible; perhaps the second may stand, with avālipso.

ārād arābhiṃ kṛṇute yaśastūpava bād hate |  
avālīpsas sa yo maṇis sahasvān abhisātiha

T has arātiṃ in a; yacasthapava in b.

Read arātiṃ in a; in b yaśastamo 'va may be a possibility.  
In d we may probably assume abhimātiḥ.

imaṃ maṇim avālīpsam yasminn ā rohayāmasi |  
sa vāi sapatnān ā datte sa enam pātu viśvatas sa enam  
jarasa nayā z 4 z

T has jarase in e.

In e read jarase. nayāt.

70.

For stanzas 3 and 4 see Ś. 6. 113. 1 and 112. 3.

yato jīvedyo na pitṛṇ apāiti na mānuṣe duṣkṛtaṃ dāi-  
dhiṣavyaṃ |  
āyagnayaṣ prathathamo yo viveśa kṛṣhrābhir jyotir  
abhy aṣṇuvātāi |

T has jīvebhyo in a.

Read in a yāto jīvebhyo and upāiti; in c read āyājñiṣaṣ prat-  
hamo, in d kṛṣhrābhir and aṣṇuvātāi.

nāsyosaḍhiṣv apy astu nāpsv antaraṃ nāsyā sūryo saṃ-  
drśam eti cakṣuḥ  
bhūmin dveṣṭi taraṃtam ayanam yan mānuṣe duṣkṛtaṃ  
dāidhiṣavyaṃ

T has bhūmir in c.

In a read nāsyāṣaḍhiṣv; in b 'saṃdrśam seems to be intended.  
In c read bhūmir and tarantam enam.

f20b trite devāmṛtatana yāta tritenam mānuṣeṣv amṛṣṭa |  
trite tad u māyārakṣāidate pra mumuktaṃ jyotir adhi  
dūram eti z

T has devāmṛtena in a, and tad upāi° in c.

Pāda a might be restored trite devā amṛjatāino yatas; for b  
trita enam mānuṣeṣv amṛṣṭa. I can do nothing for the second  
hemistich.

Pādas ab in Ś. are trite devā amṛjatātad enas trita enaṁ manu-  
ṣyeṣu mamṛje; so TB. 3. 7. 12. 5ab, except for trite in a, and  
trita etan in b. The second hemistich in Ś. is tato yadi tvā  
grāhir ā nase tāṁ te devā brahmanā nāśayantu.

ebhiḥ pāsāir duduṣāupatir vibaddhaḥ parāu-parāv arpito  
aṅge-aṅge  
vi te cṛtyantāṁ viertāṁ hi santi bhrūṇaghni pūṣaṁ duri-  
tāna sṛṣṭāṁ z 5 z a 14 z

T has bhrūṇaghni in d.

In a read didhiṣāupatir, in b probably ārpito; in c vierto, and  
in d bhrūṇaghni pūṣaṁ dūritāni and some form of mṛj.

Ś. has yebhiḥ pāsāiḥ parivitto vibaddho 'ṅge-aṅga ārpita  
utsitaś ca. In c it has muñcantāṁ vimuco, and at the end of d  
mrkṣva.

#### 71.

A charm against poison.

agnis te viṣaṇyād indro vā\* \* haspatih  
sa te dharmam adhīdarad dhāte vabhūva \*e\*y \* \*

T has viṣaṇyād.

In a viṣaṇi nayād seems possible; in b read vāyur vṛhaspatih.  
In c we might read adīdharad, and in d yo te babhūva.

puraetā viṣam agniḥ paścād abhi nudaty āyati  
vāyur en\* dakṣiṇataḥ pūṣottarād apānudā

In c read enaṁ, and in d probably apānudat.

ā sahasrīva taratha āre vāṇgetu no viṣaṁ  
āndro vāmena viśpatir ā rūpeṇa vṛhaspatih

In b read are 'vāṇgāitu, in c endro.

svar juṣṭaś kaśyapasya surāṣṭro jāgarat sve  
ṛṣabhasyātha mātudaḥ sve dattā vihrto devān yajñena  
bodhayaḥ z 1 z

T has mātadaḥ in c.

This stanza affords no starting-point for conjecture; and  
throughout the hymn the suggested readings and those retained  
are all more or less unsatisfactory.

72.

Concerning gambling.

mahājanāṣ prathamā ye didivire dhanaya maṅgatya  
mahata dvirāje  
eṣāṃ varayaḥ prathamō jigāya tasyāṃ lokam ad bhide-  
yaṃ z 1 z

In a read didivire, in b dhanāya saṅgatya mahati °. In c  
varo yaḥ might stand; in d one would expect a masculine form;  
read ud for ad.

medinas te vāibhītakā tat ta inda upāvatu |  
avyā vṛkāiva saṃrabhya jigīvān astam āyasi

In a read °takās, in b indro upāvatu. In c read vṛka iva, and  
in d āyasi.

\* \* \* \* \*

76.

Against a sorcerer.

f22a \* \* \* \* \* dhanur ojasvān ā taruṣva |  
prati dūhānir daha sa\* \* \* \* ram kṛṇuṣva |

Perhaps taruṣva may be read in b.

praty enā yāhi prati bhañdhenum vividdham nagne  
vita\* \* \*

\* tyañ dhehi vartmanā jarhṛṣāṇa kṛtyākṛtaṃ duṣkṛtaṃ  
mādhi voca |

In bhañdhenum of a the transliteration ñdh seems to be cor-  
rect, though the sign may be t̥th; T appears to have bhañge  
nnam.

In a read enaṃ, and possibly bhañdhy enaṃ; cf. Ś. 8. 3. 6cd  
tābhir vidhya hr̥daye yātudhānān pratīco bāhūn prati bhañdhy  
eṣāṃ: in b no 'gne would be good. It is fairly safe to assume  
that pratyāñ was the first word in c, and we may read the pāda  
pratyāññ ehi vartmanā jarhṛṣāṇa; in d read vocaḥ.

\* \* \* hād dhṛdayaṃ nābhi vaste yaś cakṣuṣā manasā yaś  
ca vācā |

praty ag\* \* bhyām abhi taṃ babbhūṣaṃ kṛtyākṛtaṃ duṣ-  
kṛtaṃ nir dahagne |



At the end of a some form of *vaś* might stand, and in *c* *bubhūsuñ* would be possible.

pratibodhaś caturak\*o\* \* \* śrameva vidūbhṛtā |  
pra bhañjani śatrna prati yāhy agne kṛtyākṛtām \* \*  
hrdaye marmāṇi z 1 z

For the first hemistich see No. 47. 3. For *ed* we may read *pra bhañjañ śatrūñ prati yāhy agne kṛtyākṛtām vidhya hrdaye marmāṇi*; of course there is no ground for reading *vidhya* except its familiar use in such connection.

## 77.

Ś. 7. 84. 2 and 3.

indra ksatrām abhī vāmam ójó jāyathā vṛṣabhā carṣaṇī-  
nām  
āpānudo jānam amitrayāntam urūm devebhyo akṛṇor u  
lokām z

Read *indra* and *vāmam* in *a*, '*jāyathā vṛṣabha* in *b*.

This stanza also occurs RV. 10. 180. 3; KS. 8. 16; TS. 1. 6. 12. 4; in *c* Ś. has *amitrāyantam*.

mṛgó na bhīmáś kucaro giriṣṭhā \* \* \* \*  
\* \* kām samsāya parīm iz \* \* \* \* \*

Drawing on Ś. to fill the lacunae we may read:

mṛgó ná bhīmáś kucaró giriṣṭhās parāvāta á jagamyāt  
párasyañ |  
sṛkām samsāya pavīm indra tigmām ví śatrūñ tādhi ví  
mṛdho nudasva z

This stanza occurs also RV. 10. 180. 2; SV. 2. 1223; VS. 18. 71; TS. 1. 6. 12. 4; MS. 4. 12. 3: 183. 14; KS. 8. 16. Pāda *a* occurs also in a number of other places; in *b* TS. has *jagāmā*, the rest *jaganthā*.

## 78.

Kāuś. 82. 13.

f22b \* \* \* itta pṛthivī uta dyāur adhidrutāḥ pṛṣṇimātaraḥ  
\* \* \* \* bhīḥ pavir iva nāimir adharas so stu |

This is too mutilated to handle: it has no parallel.

yasya trayā gata \* \* pra yanta devā manuṣyāḥ paśavaś  
ca sarve  
tañ no davanā mano dhi vravītu punī\* \* niyatu dviṣate  
mā radhāmaḥ z 3 z

In a read gatam anu pra yanti, in c 'dhi vravītu, in d sunītir  
no nayatu and radhāma. The 3 probably numbers the kāṇḍa.

79.

varcasvān asi deveṣu varcasvān o\* \*dhīṣvā |  
atho varcasvinān kṛdhi yam aśvatthādhi \* \*

Possibly oṣadhīṣv asi was the reading in b.

Concerning the lacuna here see Introduction, p. 200.

83.

Ś. 1. 35. For the sake of completeness I give the missing part  
as it stands in Ś.

yad ābadhnan dākṣāyaṇā hiranyaṁ śatānikāya sumanas-  
yamānāḥ |  
tat te badhnāmy āyuṣe varcase balāya dīrghāyutvāya  
śataśūradāya. 1

This stanza is not in the ms.

\* \* \* \* \*  
f23b \* \* \*kṣāyaṇā hīranyaṁ sā jīveṣu kṛṇute dīrgham  
āyuh

Read: nāinaṁ rakṣāṁsi na piśācāḥ saḥante devānām ojaḥ pra-  
thamajāṁ hy etat |  
.yo bibharti dākṣāyaṇāhiranyaṁ sa jīveṣu kṛṇute dīrgham  
āyuh z 2 z

This stanza occurs also RVKh. 10. 128. 8; VS. 34. 51: VS.  
has tad and taranti in a; Ś. and VS. have dākṣāyaṇāṁ in c; in  
d RVKh. and VS. have deveṣu; VS. has a fifth pāda, sa manu-  
yeṣu °.

apām reto jyotir ojo balaṁ ca vanaspatīnām uta vīryāṇi  
indra ivendriyama virūdhaso smin suvakṣyamāṇo bibhṛd  
dhārayam

It is impossible to say what is to be read in c for virūdhaso;  
a causative seems to be needed to match Ś. indra ivendriyāṇy  
adhi dhārayāmo asmin. In d suvakṣyamāṇo, though not quot-

able, seems possible in the sense of "increasing;" we should probably read *bibharad*, as in *Ś.*, for *bibhrd*.

*Ś.* has *tejo* for *reto* in a, and *tad dakṣamāno* in d.

saṁānam ṛtubhiḥ tvāhaṁ saṁvatsarasya payasā piparti |  
indrāgnī tvā vrahmaṇā vāvṛdhānām āyuṣmantam utta-  
maṁ tvā karātha z

Probably we should read in a, with *Ś.*, *saṁānām māsām °*, and in b *piparmi*. In c possibly *vāvṛdhānāv*, and in d *karāthaḥ*.

*Ś.* in a has *vayam*: the second hemistich is not in *Ś.* but occurs *Kāuś.* 96. 3 and 97. 6, where the reading is as suggested here, save for *āyuṣmantāv* in d. *Ś.* has *indrāgnī viśve devās te 'nu manyantām ahiṇīyamānāḥ*.

## 84.

RV. 10. 58.

yāt ta cātasraḥ pradiśo māno jagāma dūrakām |  
tāt ta ā vartayāmasihā kṣāyāyā jīvase |

In a read *yāt te* and *pradiśo*, in b *dūrakām*, and in d *kṣāyāya jīvāse*.

yāt te bhūmīm catusraktim mano z  
yāt te śamām vāivasvataṁ mano |  
yāt te vāyur antarikṣe mano z  
yāt te samūdrām āṇavām mano z  
yāt te divaṁ yat pṛthivīm mano |  
yāt te sūryām yad ūsase mano z  
yāt te candrām nakṣatrāṇi mano z  
yāt te āpā oṣādhīr mano z

In 2 T has *catusraktim*, and in 3 it has *yamām vāivasvataṁ*.

The *pādas* corrected should read :

yāt te bhūmīm cātussraktim māno z 2 z  
yāt te yamām vāivasvatām māno z 3 z  
yāt te vāyūr antārikṣe māno z 4 z  
yāt te samudrām aṇavām māno z 5 z  
yāt te divaṁ yat pṛthivīm māno z 6 z  
yāt te sūryām yad ūśasam māno z 7 z  
yāt te candrām nākṣatrāṇi māno z 8 z  
yāt te āpo yad oṣadhīr māno z 9 z

In 2 RV. has caturbhr̥ṣṭim, and in 9 apo; 4 and 8 have no parallels.

yāt te parā parāvṛtaṁ mano jagāma dūrakaṁ  
tat ta ā vartayāmasiḥ kṣāyāya jīvase z 4 z

We may read parāvṛtaṁ in a, also pārā; the rest as in 1.

RV. has parāḥ parāvato.

The stanzas here have not the same order as in RV.; four of the twelve RV. stanzas do not appear here.

85.

A charm, seemingly against insanity.

ya gr̥hṇanty apsaraso yaṁ badhnātu vṛhaspatīḥ  
tvāṁ kaśyapasya vrahmaṇā savitā punar ā bharat.

Read yaṁ in a, badhnāti in b, and tvāṁ in c.

savitāgni vrahma somaḥ tvaṣṭrā vṛhaspatīḥ  
ete marudyutaṁ tvāṁ vrahmaṇā punar ā bharaṁ z

Read °āgnir, somas, and tvaṣṭā; bharaṁ in d: it seems that marudyutam must stand, referring to some form of insanity.

bhadrāṁ vādaṁ sivaṁ cakṣur marudyutāya kṛṇvasi |  
imā hy asmā oṣadhi māharasy arundhatī z a 17 z

In a read bhadrāṁ and śivaṁ, in b kṛṇvasi. The second hemistich cannot be mended with certainty, but it seems probable that we should read iyaṁ and oṣadhī; or leave imā and read oṣadhī: māharasy or sāharasy is possible. But at best we can get little satisfaction from the last two pādas.

86.

A reverential prayer.

tribhyo rudrebhyaḥ pra vaśant yajāmi jyēṣṭha kaṇiṣṭha  
uta madhyamo yaḥ |  
jyotir akāraḥ kavāyas somapā ye kaṇvā yajanti nir ato  
vadhena z

In b read jyēṣṭhaḥ, in d probably ito. For pra vaśant in a I have no suggestion, and for akāraḥ in c can say only that it seems to imply some form of kr: in view of st. 2c one might consider as a possible reading for d ye kaṇva yajanti nir ito vidhy enān.

indrāgnī vītañ havimas sañvidānāu samiddho gñis sam-  
idha gīrbhir indra |  
nudethām kaṇvā nir ato arātim ārād rakṣāsi tapatoṣy  
asmat. |

In a read haviṣas, in b 'gnis and indrañ, in c ito; for tapatoṣy I have nothing to suggest.

f24a vāstospate suprajāsas suvīrā ṣaṣṭy āñśāni śaradaś śatāni |  
druhaś tu kaṇvābhi nir nudasva śivās tu tasmān upa sañ  
viśasva |

In c read druhas, in d perhaps śivas tv asmān.

yā tañ dṛṣad akhala sadyā ca gosthe yā jātā śakha-  
dhūme śajayām  
prapāyām jātāñ uta yas subhiś cutās cātaya saś śivatā  
no stu z

T has dṛṣad in a: perhaps akhilā should be read for akhala; at the end of the stanza read sa śivo no 'stu. It seems impossible to get any coherency out of the stanza as a whole.

dudvā ca dudvatī ca stha tad vahṇāma tad vāhañ nāma-  
dheyam |  
rudrapreṣite sthāu venām apatos san vṛṇktañ yo no  
dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām |

It would be rather attractive to write for b tad vā ha nāma tad vā ha nāmadheyam. For pāda c I have nothing to offer.

nīcī nāmāsy aghūrā nāma | namas te stu vātake  
anyatāsmad aghaṇ kṛdhi |

Read adharā in a, 'stu in b, and put the colon after vātake; in c read anyato 'smad aghām.

ruçite pari ño namāgreṇa pari ño nama |  
āsmānañ tanvañ kṛṇmahe ady ā nas soma mṛtraya z 1 z

The ms. has abhy over ady.

Read ṛjite in a, and abhy in d.

Of. RV. 6. 75. 12 ṛjite pari vṛndhi no 'smā bhavatu nas tanūñ | somo adhi bravītu no 'ditiñ śarma yacchatu; the same occurs VS. 29. 49; TS. 4. 6. 6. 4; MS. 3. 16. 3: 186. 17.

87.

tvam darbho si parit oṣadhīnām vibhāndān yāsi kanyā  
yavānām  
bhinnasiraṣ kṛme jāyām ny asya śarīraṁ bhidyati bhi-  
ndyasti z

T has patir in a.

In a read 'si patir, in b vibhindān; the last words of b are not clear: possibly yavānām could stand. In c read °śiraṣ; jāyām seems as unsuitable in this connection as kanyā; for the end of d we might read bhidyate.

yaṣ kikasās to virajāḥ parūṇi yas yoddhāra uṣṇiṣas tā  
hi vavre |  
haniṣyāmi vām nir atāḥ paretam tṛṇāny attam aviśir  
ivāmiva z

In the first hemistich most of the words seem clear individually, but the sense is wholly unclear; in virajāḥ there may be a form of vi-ruj, and then probably uṣṇiṣas. In the second hemistich by reading itāḥ we get good sense down through attam, but nothing after that.

yām yas te jāṭhareṣv antaṣ kasmāi vaśam nirakṣvam  
martyamyam  
haniṣyāmi vām nir atāḥ paretam stāyade tu prati vām  
atutsi z

Of the first hemistich only te jāṭhareṣv antaṣ seems good; in c read itāḥ and in d stāyate seems good.

yenetus tena pathā paretam stāyade tu prati vām atutsi |  
vrahmaṇā vā na paridrddhya samantam vṛścasyāmi  
vakulāiva sarpaṁ z 3 z

T has nakul° in d.

In a read yenyathus, and stāyade as above; in d read nakula iva sarpaṁ and some form of vṛśc; in c it is possible that there is some form of pari-vṛj, probably gerund.

This charm is evidently for the destruction of something, and the suggestion of worms comes out in each stanza.

## 88.

Ś. 2. 35; TS. 3. 2. 8. 1.

f24b yajñapatiṃ ṛṣayena āhur nirbhagatā bhāgād anutap-  
 yanānā |  
 yad enas cakrṃā baddha eṣa tato viśvakarman pra  
 mumugdhv enam

In d T has mumugdhv.

In a read ṛṣaya enasāhur, in b nirbhaktā is probably correct and °mānā. In c it seems that we must have cakrīvān; in d read mumugdhv enam.

This stanza also occurs MS. 2. 3. 8: 36. 20; the order of the stanzas is different in all four versions, the pādas we have here standing as 2ab and 3cd in Ś. In a MS. has yajamānam ṛṣayā, in b it has vihāya prajāṃ anu°, TS. prajā nirbhaktā anu°, Ś. nirbhaktāṃ prajā anutapyamānam. In c MS. has eno mahacca °, TS. enas cakrīvān mahi baddha eṣām; for d all have taṃ viśvakarman pra muñcā svastaye.

ñanyāna somapā manyamāno yajñasya vidvāna samaye  
 na dhīra |  
 madhavyāñ stokān upa yā rarādhas saṃ mā tarāis sṛjad  
 viśvakarmā

Probably ananyān somapān is to be read in a, in b vidvān. In c probably apa yān rarādha; for tarāis in d either tāis or tebhis is needed.

These pādas are 3ab and 2cd in Ś., which has adānyān in a, and in d saṃ nas tebhīḥ sṛjatu. MS. has in a ayajñīyān yajñīyān, in b prāṇasya and samare; TS. reads as here in a and as MS. in b: both MS. and TS. have dual, stokā, and so tābhyām in d; both have tāu for our yān and nas for mā; and they have sṛjatu.

ye rukṣayanto na viṣṭv ānadhri yān agnayo ann atap-  
 yaṃca dhiṣṇyā |  
 yā tāisām avayā duriṣṭās siṣṭām tad viśvakarmā kṛnotu |

The correct reading is probably as follows:

ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny ānrdhur yān agnayo anv  
 atapyanta dhiṣṇyāḥ |  
 yā teṣām avayā duriṣṭā sviṣṭām tad viśvakarmā kṛnotu  
 z 3 z

Ś. has what is adopted here for pādas ab; TS. has ānrhuh, MS. ānaśur. For duristā Ś. and MS. have duristīh and TS. has duristīyāi: for d Ś. has sviṣṭīh nas tām kṛṇavad viśvakarmā; so TS. save for kṛṇotu. MS. has ° tām viśvakarmā kṛṇotu.

bhīma ṛṣayo namas tebhyaś cakṣur yad eṣā manasaś ca  
saṁdhṛk. |

vṛhaspate mahiṣāya dive | namo viśvakarman namas te  
pāhy asmān. z 3 z

In a read bhīmā, in b eṣām; remove colon after dive.

This stanza is not in MS. but appears MŚ. 2. 3. 7. 4. For a Ś. and TS. have ghorā ṛṣayo namo astv ebhyaś, MŚ. astv adya yebhyaś. In b Ś. has satyam at the end; TS. has cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca saṁdhāu, MŚ. cakṣur yeṣām (var. lect. hy eṣām) tapa uccabhīmam. For c Ś. has bṛhaspataye mahiṣa dyuman namo, TS. mahi śad, MŚ. bṛhaspate mahiṣa °; for d Ś. reads as here, TS. and MŚ. have namo viśvakarmaṇe sa u pātṽ asmān.

Stanzas 3 and 4 here are 1 and 4 in Ś.

89.

sarvā imām uṣadhayaḥ pṛthivyām avi niṣṭhitāḥ  
athāiva bhadrake tvām asurebhyo ajāyata |

In a read imā uṣadhayaḥ; in b it might be possible to write viniṣṭhitāḥ, but it is to be noted that Ś. 19. 32. 3b is pṛthivyām asi niṣṭhitāḥ. The last two pādas taken separately might be possible, but to harmonize them with each other and with the first two does not seem possible.

śatam apsarasām śatam śunvatīnām gandharvapātṇīnām  
śatasyondro apakṛtaś chira yaś patanti parovātām patan-  
tir eṣvambhis saha |

T has manovātām for parovātām.

The only possible reading I can conjure up is apacitaś ciraṁ yāś patanti parāvataṁ patanti reṣmambhis saha; for śatasyondro I have no suggestion, and the rest seems to need nothing.

cetantīś aśmalām papalām indro apsaraso arat. |  
vi vo yaso bhajāmahe vi vo haṁsiya modanaṁ  
apāvarir aponnutāmāssad yakṣmas aponnatavātas te jane  
yathā z 4 z



Pāda a occurs above, 29. 4a, in what seems to be the correct form, cetantīm āsmalām palām; in b we can only guess at random, but °rasa ā karat does not seem improbable. In c yaśo may be read and haviṣyām in d. In the last hemistich probably āsmad yakṣmam is to be read, and the preceding words may contain some form of apa+vr̥ and apa+nud̥.

The charm is probably against the Apsarās in their rôle of enticing and bewildering enchantresses.

## 90.

## Ś. 6. 127.

asitasya vidrathasya lohitasya vanaspate  
vikalpakasyoṣadhe mocchi piśatām cana

In a read vidradhasya, in c °āṣadhe; in d it seems best to follow Ś. with mocchiṣaṣ piśitām.

For a Ś. has vidradhasya balāsasya, and in c it has visalyak-asy°.

tat te balāsa tiṣṭhata kaṣke muṣkāv apākṛtām  
vidāhām tasmin ni bheṣajām cīpudrāv abhicakṣaṇām

The simplest remedy for the first hemistich seems to be to read ut te balāsa tiṣṭhata kakṣe muṣkāv apākṛtāu, or perhaps apaśritāu as in Ś. In c read vedāhām and omit ni.

In a Ś. has yāu te, in c tasya, and in d cīpudrur.

nir balāsaṁ balāsino vi malam uta vidrata  
paropahabhyām te vayam parā yakṣmaṁ suvāmasi |

In b read vidradham, in c paropahatyām.

This stanza does not appear in Ś. 6. 127, being new except pāda a, which occurs Ś. 6. 14. 2a. Pāda d, in the form parā yakṣmaṁ suvāmi te, occurs RV. 10. 137. 4d; Ś. 4. 13. 5d; 7. 53. 6b, and elsewhere.

f25a śīrṣarogam aṅgarogam sraktivalgaṁ vilohitaṁ  
parā te jñātaṁ yakṣmam adharāntaṁ suvāmasi | 5 z a 18 z

In c read 'jñātaṁ, in d adharāñcaṁ.

The third stanza of Ś. has six pādas, of which the last two read as the last two here except tam for te: the first hemistich here is new.

91.

Kāuš. 115. 2.

payo deveṣu paya oṣadhīṣu payāsāsi payo ntarikṣe |  
tan me dhātā savitā ca dhattām viśve tad devā abhisam  
gr̥ṇantu z

In b read paya āśāsu and 'ntarikṣe, in c dhātā.

Kāuš. has dhātā ca ° in c.

payo yad apsu paya usriyāṣu paya ukteṣu paya ut par-  
vateṣu |  
dhan me dhātā savitā da dhattām viśve tad devā abhisam  
gr̥ṇantu |

For ukteṣu in b Roth in T suggested utyeṣu, but it seems to me that uktheṣu is better; it is the reading adopted by Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, S. 380; read uta for ut. In c read tan me, and ca for da. Bloomfield gives pāda b paya utseṣūta parvateṣu; Weber reads pūrvadheṣu.

yan mṛgeṣu payo viṣṭam asti ṣad ejati patati yat pata-  
triṣu |  
tan me dhātā savitā da dhattām viśve tad devā abhisam  
gr̥ṇantu z

In b read yad for ṣad, in c ca for da.

Kāuš. has āviṣṭam in a.

yāni payānsi divy ārpitāni yāny antarikṣa bahudhā  
bahūni |  
teṣāmm iśāne vaśinī no dya pra dattām dyāvapṛthivī  
ahr̥ṇīyamāno z 1 z

In b read antarikṣe, in c teṣām and 'dya: after these changes we must probably leave c as it stands and in d read ahr̥ṇīyamāne, or °mānāu(?).

In Kāuš. Bloomfield reads iśānaṁ in c, pradattā and ahr̥ṇīyamānā in d; Weber reads iśāte in a, omits pradattā and reads ahr̥ṇīyamāne, but he suggests the reading iśānaṁ (or °ān) and pradattām.

92.

To Sumati.

āganmemām sumatīm viśvarūpām yasyām pūrvam anu  
tad dava ekah

sā nas sūktāir juṣṣāṇā samībhyas sā na vṛṇītāṁ suma-  
nasyamānāḥ |

T has śamībhyas in c.

In b read deva; there seems to be something wrong with the  
pāda, probably in anu tad. In c read śamibhyas, in d no and  
°mānā.

iyam devī sumatir viśvarūpā śilpam kṛtvānā carati  
caneṣu |  
tām rājānaḥ kavayo hṛtsu ketāir arājānaś ca vadanaḥ  
punanti |

In b T has careṣu, which is correct.

agnir yā mām ityam upasam sadema vācapriye madhumat  
yā vadantaḥ z  
somo rājā varuṇo mitra dharmā mayi śriyamānā upasam  
namantu |

For the first hemistich I have no suggestion to make. Read  
mitro in c, and śrīya° in d.

yo vaś śuśmo hṛdaye yo bālivo yaś ca cakṣuṣī  
jihvāyāgre ya va manyus tam vo vi nayāmasi z z  
f25b om tam vo vi nayāmasi z 3 z

In a read śuśmo, in b cakṣuṣi, in c yo vā.

Ś. 6. 73. 2a is yo vaḥ śuśmo hṛdayeṣy antar.

### 93.

To the plant kuṣṭha; a charm against poison.

triṣ kuṣṭhāsi vṛtrahā jātā trir ud divas pari jajñire |  
tris somāha jajñiṣe tvam trir ādityabhyas pari z

T has adityebhyas in d.

In b read jajñiṣe, in d read with T.

Pāda d occurs Ś. 19. 39. 5b; this hymn of Ś. is to the plant  
kuṣṭha, against takman.

jīvalām naghāriṣām jayata kāmāparājitam  
utāmṛtasyeśāno rājana kuṣṭhā vadāmasi |

The first hemistich can stand, but the connection seems  
unclear: cf. Ś. 19. 39. 2a. In d read rājan.

With c cf. RV. 10. 90. 2c; VS. 31. 2c, which have utāmṛta-  
tvasyeśāno; Ś. 19. 6. 4c °yeśvaro.

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam idam mahat. |  
tatrāmṛtasyāsiktaṁ kuṣṭhaṁ devā badhnuta |

In d we should probably read devā abadhnata.

The pādas of the first hemistich, separately, are familiar but not in hymns to kuṣṭha. Ś. 4. 7. 1cd read tatrāmṛtasyāsiktaṁ tenā te vāraye viṣam.

kuṣṭho si devākṛtaṁ himavadbhyo nirāḍṛta  
tikṣṇābhir atrabhiḥ vātas sa jagarthārasaṁ viṣaṁ z 3 z

In a read 'si devākṛto, in b nirāḍṛtaḥ, in c perhaps atribhir; in d the correct reading is probably cakarthā°.

94.

A charm for blood-flow.

yas te śataṁ dhamanayas sahasrāṇi viśatīḥ  
babhror aśvasya vāreṇāpi nahyāmi tāhaṁ |

In a read yās, in d ta aham [in b sc. ca after sahasrāṇi.—Ed.].

śatasya te dhamanīnām sahasrasyāyutasya ca |  
trteṣ pādāṁ ava sārathim api niśyāsi yad vilam

T has nahyāmi in d.

In d read nahyāmi yad bilam, following T. In c possibly iva may stand, but for the rest I have no suggestion.

paramasyām parāvataś śuśko bhy aruṇḍaś ca tiṣṭhata |  
tataś śuśkasya śuśmeṇa tiṣṭhantu lohinir apa |

T has aruṇḍaś in b.

In b tiṣṭhātu would be better, and aruṇḍaś seems worth consideration; read 'bhy.

pari viś siktāmayam aruṁ bile vapāmasi |  
akāśadaśvavāit purātakaś ca daśamīm idam z

For the second hemistich I would make no suggestion: for the first might we consider as remotely possible pari vas siktāmayam arumbile vapāmasi?

95.

rudram ātākṣīhatā mumuṣṭubhyām amaghavan dhṛam  
ahūtyābhiṣansaṁ |  
tābhiṣajaṁ śṛṇosy an no vīraṁ vīre bheṣajebhi z

T has °sandam, and °ṣatsam at end of b.

rudra yat te guhyaṁ nāma yat tendhāma taylor iduḥ |  
śīva śarvyā yā tava tayā no mṛḷā jīvase z

In the first stanza I have made no attempt to restore; but the second comes out fairly clear. With śaravyā the second hemistich is good; in b read yat ta indh-, but after that I offer no conjecture: iduḥ may be the correct reading.

Pāda c occurs TS. 4. 5. 1. 1; KS. 17. 11; NīlarU. 7. Pāda d occurs VS. 16. 49; TS. 4. 5. 10. 1; MS. 2. 7. 9: 127. 12; KS. 17. 11 and NīlarU. 7.

agniṁ tvāhur vāiśvānaraṁ madanāna prahāṣaṁ agūt.  
sa ne devatrādhi vrūhi mā riṣāmā vayan tava |

In b read sadanān pradahanṁ, no in c.

This occurs Vāit. 6. 7 and GB. 1. 2. 21. Vāit. has for b sa dahan pradahan nv agāḥ, GB. sadanān pradahan v agāḥ.

yā devī prahiteṣu tastapase vām aham avāvasṛtā  
f26a somas tvām asmabhyā vetu vidvān avantu naḥ pitaro  
devahūtiṣu z 5 z a 19 z

In a probably prahiteṣu is better; and one could think of tasthe for the next word. In c possibly asmabhyam.

Pāda d occurs RV. 6. 52. 4d with mā and °hūtāu.

It would hardly be safe to say more than that this seems to be a prayer for Rudra's favor, perhaps at a sacrifice.

96.

ApŚ. 16. 34. 4; KS. 40. 5.

rāyas pōṣaṁ dhēhi no jātaveda ūrjāvad agne āsu sūnṛ-  
tāvat. |

dādhāma bhārā śṛṇu nāma sōmaṁ yajñēna tvām ūpa  
śikṣama śakraṁ z

Read: rāyās pōṣaṁ dhehi no jātaveda ūrjāvad agne vāsu sūnṛ-  
tāvat |

dādhāma bhāraṁ sunāvāma sōmaṁ yajñēna tvām ūpa  
śikṣema śakraṁ z 1 z

In a ApŚ, and KS. have no dhehi; for b they have ūro bhāgaṁ madhumat sūnṛtāvat, which with pinvamānā for sūnṛtāvat also occurs MS. 2. 7. 12c: 92. 8; KS. 16. 12c; they have yajñāṁ in c, śakra in d.

vayám agne dhánavantas syāmālaṁ yajñāyutá dáksinā-  
yāi |  
grāvā vadhed abhí sómasyānsūn indra siksēma indunā  
sutēna z

Read: vayám agne dhánavantas syāmālaṁ yajñāyotá dáksinā-  
yāi |  
grāvā vaded abhí sómasyānsūn indraṁ siksēmēndunā  
sutēna z 2 z

In c ApŚ. has °ānsunā, and KS. has grāvāvādīd° ° ānsūm.

īśānan tvā sūsrumā vayāṁ pūrotá dhānānāṁ dhanapate |  
gómāḍ agne áśvavad bhūri puṣṭó | hīraṇyavad ānnavad  
dhehi máhyam |

T has īśānaṁ in a and bhūri in c.

Read: īśānaṁ tvā sūsrumā vayāṁ puróhita dhānānaṁ dhana-  
pate |  
gómāḍ agne áśvavad bhūri puṣṭám hīraṇyavad ānnavad  
dhehi máhyam z 3 z

ApŚ. has sūsrumo in a and annamaḍ in d; it and KS. omit  
purohita in b.

dvāhām me dyāús prthiví páyo jaráro mā sódako bhúvi  
sarpatu  
prajāpatinā tānvam āprāṇer iṣṭo mātu mā z 1 z

Read: duhām me dyāús prthiví páyo 'jagaró mā sódako ví sar-  
patu |  
prajāpatinā tanvām á prāṇe 'riṣṭáḥ pātu mā z 4 z 1 z

In the first hemistich I have followed the reading of ApŚ. and  
KS., except that they have te and tvā; for the second hemistich  
they give prajāpatinātmānam āprāṇe 'rikto ma ātmā; thus KS.  
in d, but ApŚ. āprāṇe rikto.

97.

asmāṁ juṣadhvam asavo dyamānaḥ purājaraso vasavo hi  
ṣṭhaḥ  
pākā grṇīmas tava vīryāya śataṁ himā adhipatin na ehi |

T has adhipatir in d.

In a read asmān and vasava ucyamānaḥ, in c grṇīmas, and  
°patir in d. Pāda c does not seem good but it will have to stand.

un mṛṇo gād ārjunam agāt suṣad bhogo gopāya mā |  
 ahne bhyātu mānaṁ pari dadhe sūryaṣ prāṇo bhavāmi

T puts ny an mṛṇo with this stanza.

ny an mṛṇon mṛṇo gād āsitam agāt suṣad bhogo gopāya  
 mā |  
 rātraye bhyātu mānaṁ pari dadhe agniḥ prāṇo bhavāmi  
 anāturasya nā bhago nā bhago bhūyassa |

The parallelism between the last two stanzas is striking, but the meaning is far from clear. In the second there is evident dittography in pāda a, and I incline to think that the last line is a sort of a gloss. Possibly mṛḍo should stand for mṛṇo; and bhyātumānaṁ may be some participle.

sa yatra dvayaṁ prajāpate trir ekasyāhnāḥ prajāś sas  
 paśyasi  
 tatra mām abhi saṁ paśyāniṣṭapaśur bhuvanasya gopā  
 z z z

T has saṁ in b.

Read °āhnāḥ and saṁ in b and gopāḥ in d.

For aniṣṭapaśur neither "having ill-omened cattle" nor "having unsacrificed cattle" suits very well: it would seem that the individual addressed is an earthly prince. [Read ariṣṭa° "not lost."—ED.]

### 98.

yathā mṛgo gopayasi tiraścin mātu vindhyasi |  
 ya vā tvam ugroṣadhe asuro payasū subhage |

The margin gives bhe | for the end of d.

f26b bandhume mām apadhuś ca madhuman no samamjanam |  
 dvāro bhagasye mātaraū mrgasya śyannivācaraḥ

The margin gives dhyanni for d.

abhi tvādhām abhidanā jāleneva mahādākam |  
 yathā sam akratāvaso sam āscit te sacāvahi |

T has mahāradhakam in b; mahājhakam is possible.

ahvāit tad uttarā asmatha tvas upadhīr mama |  
 sa no badhnāmi sambandhanena yathāsāv ā vi vṛtṭy ā vā  
 mṛtyor aparāvatā | 3 z

T has upacin in b.

Just a few suggestions here: for 1c we might read yā vāi tvam ugrā oṣadhe; in 2b samañjanam; in 3c °vasā is not impossible; 4b might be tvam upacin mama, and while no certain reconstruction of 4d could be made, the drift of it seems to be “that he may be far from danger and death,” or something of that sort. It would seem that this is a medicinal charm.

99.

Against demons, particularly kṣetriya.

apocchantī duṣṣ\*apnam api dṛhādam utsatām  
apoṣtām sarvaṁ kṣetriyaṁ sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ |

T has apocchantī.

In a read apocchantī dussvapnam, and for b apa dṛhādam ucchatām would seem good.

With a cf. Ś. 8. 4. 23b apocchantu mithunā ye kimīdinaḥ; pāda d appears rather frequently, e. g. RV. 1. 191. 8d; Ś. 2. 14. 3d.

ud agātām bhagavatī vicṛtāu nāma tārake |  
sukṣatriyasya muñcatām saṁgranthya hṛdayasya ca z

It will be better to read agātām in a; read saṁgranthya in d; in c one is tempted to abandon the ms. and read with Ś. vi kṣetriyasya°.

Pādas ab occur Ś. 2. 8. 1ab; 6. 121. 3ab: for a Ś. 3. 7. 4 and TA. 2. 6. 1 have respectively amū ye divi subhage and amī ye subhage divi. Ś. 2. 8. 1. and 3. 7. 4 have for c vi kṣetriyasya muñcatām.

namo stu vṛtrahābhyo namāṣā yugebhyaḥ  
mṛgāyārānye tiṣṭhate kṣetriyāyākaram namah z

In a read ‘stu, in b nama eṣām.

āṣo hṛdam kṣetrapatyam manoś ca mānavasya ca |  
manas sarvasyāpaśyata iba bhūyamy ādiditi z 4 z

The margin has syā, seeming to correct bhūyamy.

Pādas b and c are good, but I see no help in them toward solving the rest.



## 100.

Seemingly a love charm.

ud ehi devakanyā yā jatā vaṣunā saha |  
na tvā caranty oṣadhayo bāhyāṣ parvatā uta z

In b read jātā, in c taranty; probably the correct reading for d is bātyāṣ parvatīyā uta, as in Ś. 19. 44. 6d, where the hemistich occurs.

yathā tvā pari utsakta patny oṣadham ā vataṁ karanī-  
dasi |  
yad eṣu yan ni śidasi tatra tvāhaṁ sam abham aśvam  
ivāśvābhidhānyā |

In d abharam may be restored. The first hemistich is past mending with certainty; oṣadhīm is evident and utsakthī is possible. Pāda e occurs Ś. 4. 36. 10d and 5. 14. 6d.

yathā kumāras taruṇo māturaṁ prati nandati  
evāsmān prati nandantu yāṁ vayan kāmayaṁahe z 5  
z a 20 z

In the first hemistich read taruṇo mātaram; in d read yā, or in c read nandatu.

## 101.

Cosmogonic.

trīṇi pātrāṇi prathamāny āmat tāni satyam uta bhūtaṁ  
tadakṣa |  
f27a rtasya māne dhiyā dhruvāny ebhir devāmṛtaṁ bhakṣa-  
yanti |

In a read āsan, at the end of b uta dakṣaḥ seems possible; in d read devā amṛtaṁ.

svar yad devā vi bhajantāyaṁ trīṇi pātrāṇi prathamāny  
āsam.  
ādityā ekaṁ vasavo dvitīyaṁ tṛtīyaṁ rudrā adhi maṁ  
babhūvuh

In a read bhajanta āyan, in b āsan, and sam in d.

dhātā veda savitāitāni sarvā vṛhaspatiḥ prathamo devo  
agniḥ

ebhir indro jajatharom ā prṇīte tribhiḥ pātrāir uta viśve  
ca devāḥ

In c read jajatharam.

ūrdhvās tiṣṭhanti nanu jihvā bhavanti nonaṁ babhūva  
katamaś canāiṣām  
devānām pātrāṇi nihatāni yāni tāni saṁ pātv aritasya  
gopā z 1 z

In a read ūrdhvā and probably jihvā, in b katamac and in c  
nihitāni; ṛtasya gopāḥ in d.

102.

The feast of the full moon.

pūrṇamāsi prathamā yajñīyāsīd ahnā rātrīṇām uta śarvā-  
reṣu |  
ye tvām yajñīyāir yajñāitvodhayantamāi te nākaṁ sukr-  
taḥ paretāḥ z z

In a pūrṇamāsi had better stand; in b read ahnām and śar-  
vareṣu; in cd we may restore with some probability yajñāir  
vardhayanty amī.

This stanza occurs Ś. 7. 80. 4, and the readings suggested  
here agree with Ś. except in pāda c, where Ś. has ye tvām  
yajñāir yajñīye ardhayanty, in b atīśarvareṣu, and in d nāke.

pūrṇa paścād utā pūrṇā purāstāt pāurnamāsī madhyata  
ūj jigāya |  
tāsyām devāś saṁvāsanto mahitvā nākasya prṣṭhé mam  
iṣā madema z

T has madhyatā.

In a read pūrṇā both times, in c tāsyām and in d sām iṣā.

This stanza occurs Ś. 7. 80. 1; TS. 3. 5. 1. 1; TB. 3. 1. 1.  
12; MŚ. 6. 2. 3; and the second hemistich ApŚ. 7. 5. 1cd.  
For pāda b these have un madhyataḥ pāurnamāsī jigāya. For  
c TS. and TB. have tasyām devā adhisamvasantaḥ, which ApŚ.  
varies by taylor: MŚ. has yasyām (var. lect. asyām) devā abhi-  
samviśantaḥ. For d TS., TB., ApŚ., and MŚ., have uttame  
nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ. mādayadhvam).

catasro diśaḥ pradiṣo ha pañca ṣaḍ urvī rāhu rajaso  
vimānā |

dvādaśāntardhā ṛtavaś ca te mā pyāyayantu bhuvanasya  
gopāḥ z

yathādityān ā pyāyayanti yathākṣitam akṣitayaś pibanti |  
evā nām indro varuṇo vṛhaspatir ā pyāyayantu bhu-  
vanasya gopāḥ z 2 z

In view of Ś. and MS. it seems that we should read in a yathādityā aṁsum °; in b pibanti: stanza is No. 4, hymn No. 2.

This stanza occurs Ś. 7. 81. 6; TS. 2. 4. 14. 1; MS. 4. 9. 27: 140. 3; 4. 12. 2: 181. 7; KS. 10. 12; ŚŚ. 5. 8. 4; N. 5. 11 (acc. to Durga in Roth's Erläuterungen, p. 61). In a the reading suggested is that of MS.; KS. has yathādityam ādityā ā °, N. has yathā devā aṁsum °, Ś. has yam devā °, others yam ādityā °, which last form also appears in TS. 2. 3. 5. 3a; TB. 3. 1. 31a; KāuṣU. 2. 8. In b MS. and KS. have yathākṣitim ° KS. also reading °yo madanti, Ś. has yam akṣitam akṣitā bha-  
kṣayanti, the others as here save that ŚŚ. has akṣitim. In c KS. reads as here, MS. evāsmān °, Ś. tenāsmān °, N. tena tvām ° TS. and ŚŚ. tena no rājā varuṇo °. In d all read as here.

## 103.

## To Amāvāsyā.

āgana rātrīs saṁgamanī vasūnām viśvaṁ puṣṭam vasv  
āveśayanti |  
amāvāsyām haviṣā vidhemorjām vasūnaś payasā nāgaṁ z

In a read āgan rātrī, in b °yantī, in c amāvāsyām, in d vasūnā and na āgan.

This stanza occurs Ś. 7. 79. 3, with amāvāsyāyāi in c and duhānā in d. With the first hemistich cf. TS. 3. 5. 1. 1 niveś-  
anī saṁgamanī vasūnām viśvā rūpāni vasūny āveśayantī. Pāda a may be compared with RV. 10. 125. 3a; Ś. 4. 30. 2a, ahaṁ  
rūṣṭrī saṁgamanī vasūnām.

mā tvā rātri puro dabhaṁ sota paścād vibhāvāri |  
f27b āyusmantas suprajāsaḥ suvīrā hr̥dyās sa tvā suvarcasah

In a read dabhan, in b mota, and in d probably satvānas.

yasya devasya sumutāu sumatīm grhānām  
ā mā puṣṭim ca poṣyam ca rātryā devānām sumatāu  
syāmā |

In a read sumatāu; b is evidently incomplete but there is nothing to suggest the original reading.

Ś. 3. 10. 7ab has ā me puṣṭe ca poṣe ca rātri devānām sumatāu syāma.

alam evāsmi amāvāsyā mā vasantu sukr̥tāu māime  
mayi devā ubhaye sādhyās cendrajyeṣṭhās sam agac-  
chantu sarve z 3 z

In view of Ś. we should probably read in b vasanti sukr̥to mayīme; in d agacchanta.

This stanza occurs Ś. 7. 79. 2, where b is mām ā vasanti sukr̥to mayīme.

104.

To the New Year. Ś. 3. 10. 1-4.

prathamā ha vyāsa sā dhenúr abhivad yamé sá nah |  
páyasvatī duhā úttarās úttārām samā z

T ends first hemistich after yame.

Read: prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā dhenúr abhavad yamé |  
sá nah páyasvatī duhā úttarām-uttarām sámām z 1 z

This stanza also occurs TS. 4. 3. 11. 5; MS. 2. 13. 10: 161. 11; KS. 39. 10; SMB. 2. 2. 1; PG. 3. 3. 5; the second hemistich appears RV. 4. 57. 7; Ś. 3. 17. 4; SMB. 1. 8. 8; 2. 2. 17; 8. 1. Pāda a Kāuś. 19. 28; 138. 4; GG. 3. 9. 9; KhG. 3. 3. 18; HG. 2. 14. 5. For a TS., PG., and HG. have yā prathamā vy āuchat; in b KS. and SMB. omit sā. In c SMB. and MS. read as here, TS. and PG. dhuksva, Ś. and others duhām.

yām devāṣ prati nāndanti dhenú rātrim upāyatī  
sāmvatsarasya yā patnī sā nō astu sumāṅgalā |

Read: yām devāṣ prati nāndanti dhenūm rātrim upāyatīm |  
sāmvatsarasya yā patnī sā nō astu sumāṅgalā z 2 z

For this stanza see SMB. 2. 2. 16; PG. 3. 2. 2; ApMB. 2. 20. 27; HG. 2. 17. 2; MG. 2. 8. 4. In a SMB. has paśyanti, and all save Ś. and SMB. have janāḥ for devāṣ; in b Ś. has rātrim dhenum, the others have this order and have ivāyatīm; in d all texts have sumāṅgalī.

sāmvatsarasya pratimām yé tvā rātrim upāsate |  
téṣam āyusmatīm prajāṁ rāyāṣ pōṣaṇā saṁ sṛja |

T has poṣeṇa in d.

Read: saṁvatsarāśya pratimāṁ yé tvā rātrim upāsate |  
tósām āyusmatīm prajāṁ rāyās póṣeṇa sám sṛja z 3 z

This stanza occurs KS. 40. 2; MG. 2. 8. 4; the first hemistich in TS. 5. 7. 2. 1; PG. 3. 2. 2; pāda a in ApŚ. 17. 9. 3; HG. 2. 15. 9, and pāda d appears frequently. In a PG. has pratimā: in b KS. and MG. read as here, PG. has yā tāh rātrim upāśmahe, Ś. yām tvā rātry upāśmahe, which TS. varies with upāsate and SMB. 2. 2. 18b with rātri yajāmahe. KS. and MG. have c as here, Ś. has sā na °. In d MG. has sṛjasva, others as here.

iyām avā sā yā prathamā vy āucchat sāpsv antas carati  
pravīṣṭā  
vādhūr mīmāyā navāgaj jānitriṁ trīta enām mahimānas  
sacante z 4 z

Margin has aṣṭakū opposite this stanza.

Read: iyām evā sū yā prathamā vy āucchat sāpsv antas carati  
prāviṣṭā |  
vadhūr mīmāya navagaj jānitri trīya enām mahimānas  
sacante z 4 z 4 z

This stanza occurs also Ś. 8. 9. 11; TS. 4. 3. 11. 1; MS. 2. 13. 10: 160. 1; KS. 39. 10; ŚG. 3. 12. 3; ApMB. 2. 20. 30: the first pāda appears TB. 2. 5. 5. 3a; ApŚ. 17. 2. 12; HG. 2. 14. 5; ApG. 8. 22. 5. SMB. 2. 2. 15 must be compared. The only variant for a is vy uchat in ŚG. Pāda a as here appears in MS. and KS., antar asyām ° in TS., ŚG. and ApMB., āsv itarāsu ° in Ś. In Ś. the second hemistich is mahānto asyām mahimāno antar vadhūr jigāya navagaj janitri. In c TS., ŚG., and ApMB. have jajāna and ŚG. also has navakṛj; in d ŚG. has sacantām. The stanza in SMB. is eṣāiva sā yā pūrvā vy āucchat seyam apsv antas carati pravīṣṭā | vasūr jigāya prathamā janitri viśve hy asyām mahimāno antah.

#### 105.

Continuation of preceding: Ś. 3. 10. 5, 6, 11, 10.

vānāspatyā grāvāṇo ghoṣām avrāta haviṣṭanvantavā parivatsārīṇaṁ |  
ékāṣṭakāyī haviṣā vidhema vayām syāma pātayó rayīnām.

Read: vānaspatyā grāvāṇo ghóṣam akrata havīṣ kṛṇvāntas pari-  
vatsarīṇam |  
ekāṣṭakāyāi havīṣā vidhema vayām syāma pátayo rayī-  
nām z 1 z

This stanza also occurs HG. 2. 14. 4; MG. 2. 8. 4; SMB. 2. 2. 13; ApMB. 2. 20. 34. Pādas ab in Ś. are as here; in a HG. and MG. have ulūkhalā ° ° akurvata, ApMB. āulūkhalā °, SMB. āulūkhalah saṁ pra vadanti grāvāṇah; in b MG. has parivat-sarīyam. Pāda c as here does not appear elsewhere; Ś. has ekāṣṭake suprajasaḥ suvīrā. The occurrences of d are too numerous to mention; for d SMB. and MG. have jyog jīvema balihṛto vayam te.

īdāyāḥ padām ghṛtāvata sarīsrpām jātavedaḥ prati havyā  
grbhāya  
ye grāmyāḥ paśāvo vīśvarūpās taṣām saptānām māyi  
rantir astu z

Corrections for accents are as follows: sarīsrpām jātavedaḥ  
prāti havyā grbhāya: yé grāmyāḥ, vīśvarūpās téṣām saptānām,  
rantir.

This stanza also occurs SMB. 2. 2. 14; AŚ. 2. 2. 17; ApŚ. 6. 5. 7; MŚ. 1. 6. 1. 15; HG. 2. 17. 2; TA. 3. 11. 12. Ś. and SMB. give the stanza exactly as here: in a AŚ., ApŚ., and MŚ. have carācaram at end, TA. and HG. have for a idāyāi srptam ghṛtavac carācaram; b as here is found only in Ś. and SMB., others, save TA., having jātavedo havir idam juṣasva. Pāda c occurs further in Ś. 2. 34. 4a; TA. 3. 11. 11a: in d AŚ. has ° mayi puṣtir astu, TA. and ApŚ. °nām iha rantir astu, MŚ. °nām iha puṣtir astu; others as here.

īdāyā juhvato havir devān ghṛtavatā yuje  
guhān aḍubhyato vayam dr̥ṣade sopa gomata |

T has grhān in c: possibly the ms. reading is juhuto.

In b read yaje, in c grhān alubhyato; in d gomataḥ: and I am inclined to think it would be well to restore also in d the reading of Ś. saṁ viśemopa.

In a Ś. has vayam for havir.

yajur rtvigbhya ārtavebhyo mābhyas samvatsarāya ca |  
dhātire vidhartre samṛdhe bhūtasya pataye yajā z 5 z

T has mād̐bhyas in b.

Possibly ṛtvigbhyā can stand but ṛtubhyā as in Ś. is better; in b read mād̐bhyas, in c vidhātṛe, in d yaje. The stanza is No. 4 and the hymn No. 5.

For ab Ś. reads ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyo mād̐bhyah saṁvatsarebhyah.

106.

Conclusion of preceding; Ś. 3. 10. 8, 12, 7.

f28a ā yam agan saṁvatsaraḥ patir ekāṣṭake tava  
tasmāi juhomi | haviṣā ghr̥tenaśū naś śarma yacchatu |

Read agan in a and °āsū in c; put colon after tava.

Only the first hemistich appears in Ś. Pāda c occurs also AŚ. 8. 14. 4c.

ekāṣṭakāya haviṣā vidhemo ṛtūr pañcāna praviṣṭā |  
sasyena sasyam upa saṁ carantaṁ ariṣṭāsyantam upa  
sam caremā |

In a read ekāṣṭakāyāi, and it seems that we must have vidhemaṁtūn pañcānu °. In c read °caratām, in d ariṣyantaṁ tam ° seems not impossible, or ariṣṭās syandam °.

The only parallel pāda is ariṣṭāḥ saṁ caremahī in MŚ. 1. 6. 2. 17d; SMB. 1. 6. 14c; HG. 1. 5. 1c; ApMB. 2. 3. 1c; MG. 1. 22. 2c.

vāsanto gr̥ṣmāu madhūmanta varṣāḥ śarād dhemahā  
ṛtāvo no juṣantām |  
ā no goṣu viśatv ā prajāyām śīśurmany eṣām trivarūthe  
syāma |

Read: vasantó gr̥ṣmó mádhumanta varṣāḥ śarād dhemantā  
ṛtavó no juṣantām |  
ā no góṣu viśantv ā prajāyām śármany eṣām trivárūthe  
syāma z 3 z

The correction of d is Roth's, who also suggests the alternative śarman yeṣām; but it may be that some form of śīśira should be restored. Ś. 6. 55. 2 is similar to this: gr̥ṣmo hemaṁtaḥ śīśiro vasantaḥ śarād varṣāḥ svite no dadhāta | ā no goṣu bhajatā prajāyām nivāta id vaḥ śaraṇe syāma; cf. TS. 5. 7. 2. 4. Variants of the first three pādas occur in the Saṁhitās and Sūtras of the Black Yajur Veda.

ekāṣṭakū tāpasā tāpyanā jajāna gárbbhañ mahimānam  
 índrañ  
 téna devā vi śahanta śátṛñ hantāsurañām abhavac  
 śácīpatīḥ z

Read: ekāṣṭakū tāpasā tapyāmānā jajāna gárbbhañ mahimānam  
 índram |  
 téna devā vṛ asahanta śátṛñ hantāsurañām abhavac  
 śácīpātīḥ z 4 z

This stanza is Ś. 3. 10. 12, which differs only in d having hantā dasyūnām; it occurs also TS. 4. 3. 11. 3; KS. 39. 10; SMB. 2. 3. 21; PG. 3. 3. 5; and pāda a GG. 4. 4. 33a; ApMB. 2. 20. 35a; HG. 2. 14. 5; 15. 9a. For c TS., KS., and PG. have tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāḥ; and for d the same texts and SMB. have hantā dasyūnām abhavac chaciḥbhiḥ.

pūrṇā dravye parā pata sūpūrṇā punar ā pata |  
 sarvāñ yajñāna sañ prīcatī iṣam ūrjañ nābhṛtya idāyā  
 paśubhis saha |  
 sarasvatī tvam asmāsu rāyas poṣaṃ ni yaccha z 6 z a 21 z

The margin has iṣam ūrjañ nā bhara i pāṭhaḥ.

Read: pūrṇa dravye parā pata supūrṇā punar ā pata |  
 sarvāñ yajñān sañ prīcatīsam ūrjañ na ābhṛtya |  
 idāyā paśubhis saha sarasvatī tvam asmāsu rāyas poṣaṃ  
 ni yaccha z 6 z a 21 z

The last two pādas of this stanza are without parallel; the rest is Ś. 3. 10. 7cdef, which reads darve, sañ bhuñjati and bhara. The first two pādas occur VS. 3. 49; TS. 1. 8. 4. 1; MS. 1. 10. 2: 142. 6; KS. 9. 5; ŚB. 2. 5. 3. 17; AŚ. 2. 18. 13. In a all save Ś., MS., and KS. have darvi.

#### 107.

RV. 10. 168, with new stanzas.

vātasyā nū mahimā rāthasya bhajāyann eti stanāyann  
 asya ghōṣā |  
 divaspṛg yēty arūṇāni kṛvānn ātho ebhi prthivyā reṇūm  
 asyan. z

Read vātasya, mahimānañ, bhañjāyann, and ghōṣaḥ in ab;  
 yāty aruṇāni, eti, and āsyan in cd.

RV. has rujann eti ° in b, and uto eti ° in d.



sám préráte ánu vātasya víṣṭhā nāīnam gacchanti sūma-  
neva yósā |  
tābhīr vidvān sarātham devā īyate pātir víśvasya bhū-  
vanasya gopāh z

Read vātasya víṣṭhā āīnam, and sumānā iva yósāh in ab;  
tābhīr vidvān in c.

In b RV. has ° samanām na yósāh, in c tābhīh sayuk °, and  
in d asya ° ° ° rājā.

ātmā vāi devānām bhuvanasya gopa yathāvaśam carati  
deva ekaḥ  
ghoṣāid asya śrūyate na rūpam nasmāi vātāya haviṣā  
vidhemā |

T has tasmāi in d.

Read gopā in a, ghoṣa id in c, tasmāi and vidhema in d.

RV. (st. 4) omits vāi and has garbho at end of a, has eṣaḥ at  
end of b, and in c has ghoṣā and śṇvire. Pāda d has a number  
of variants, very familiar, such as tasmāi somāya °, tasmāi te  
soma °, tasmāi te deva °, etc.

antārikṣe pathībhir īyamāno ná ná viśati katamās  
canāhaḥ |  
f28b apām yōniṣ prathamajā ṛtāsya kvā sij jātās kútra ā  
babhūva |

Read īyamāno ná ní and katamāc in ab; in d read svij, and  
probably kuta.

This stanza also occurs GB. 1. 2. 8; in a GB. has hrīyamāno,  
with variant reading hī°. RV. and GB. have viśate in b. In  
c RV. has sakhā for yoniḥ, and ṛtāvā.

antarikṣe patayantaṁ vāta tvām āśum āśubhi |  
paśyanti sarve cakṣuṣā na sarve manasū viduḥ

Read āśubhiḥ in b.

The second hemistich as here appears Ś. 10. 8. 14.

upatrikaṁ sam ca vi ca tra trir yemaṁ caturekajaṁ |  
taṁ mātariśvānam devaṁ divo devāvāsraṁ z 1 z

T reads viśatra trir ye pañca °.

In d read devā avāsraṁ. The stanza is No. 6, the hymn No. 1.

For b it might be possible to read trir ye pañca catur  
ekajaṁ, but aside from the possibility of vicitraṁ I see no way  
to remedy pāda a.

108.

Ś. 19. 20.

apām niduṣ pāuruṣeyām vadhām sad indrāgnī dhātā  
sāvitā vṛhaspātīḥ  
sómo rājā vāruṇo aśvínā yamaḥ pūṣāsmān pari pātu  
mr̥tyoḥ

Read: āpa ny ādhuṣ pāuruṣeyam vadhām yām indrāgnī dhātā  
savitā vṛhaspātīḥ |  
sómo rājā vāruṇo aśvínā yamaḥ pūṣāsmān pari pātu  
mr̥tyoḥ z 1 z

The reading given is that of Ś., to which it seems the Pāipp.  
must be assimilated.

yāni dākārā bhūvanasya yas pātīḥ prajāpatir mātārisvā  
prajābhyaḥ  
pradīso yāni vasāte dīśas ca tāni varmāṇi bāhulāni  
santu z

Read: yāni cakāra bhūvanasya yās pātīḥ prajāpatir mātārisvā  
prajābhyaḥ |  
pradīso yāni vasāte dīśas ca tāni varmāṇi bahulāni  
santu z 2 z

Ś. adds me after tāni in d.

yat tanuṣv anahyanti devā virāja yodhinā |  
indro yaś cakre varma tasmāt pātu viśvataḥ |

Read: yat tanuṣv anahyanta devā virājo yodhināḥ |  
indro yac cakre varma tad asmān pātu viśvataḥ z 3 z

Ś. adds te after yat in a, and has rājyāya in b: in d there  
seems to be nothing else but to adopt the reading of Ś.

varma se dyāvāpr̥thivī varmāhur varma sūryaḥ |  
varma me viśve devāḥ kṛṇvā mā prāpat pratīcikā z 2 z

Read me in a, varmāhar in b, in c probably kṛṇvan or kran  
and in d mā mā °. The stanza is No. 4 and the hymn No. 2.

Ś. has kran in c. The first hemistich as here also occurs Ś. 8.  
5. 18ab, and with varmāgnir in b in AŚ. 1. 2. 1; ApŚ. 14. 26. 1.

## 109.

RV. 6. 74; MS. 4. 11. 2.

somārudrā ví vṛhataṁ víṣṇēis āmīvā yá no gáyam āvi-  
vása |  
bādhethāṁ dvēṣo nírṛtiṁ ca parācāis kṛtāṁ cid énaṣ prá  
mumuktim asmát. |

Read: sómārudrā ví vṛhataṁ víṣṇēim āmīvā yá no gáyam ā  
vivésa |  
bādhethāṁ dvēṣo nírṛtiṁ ca parācāis kṛtāṁ cid énaṣ prá  
mumuktaṁ asmát z 1 z

This stanza also occurs Ś. 7. 42. 1; TS. 1. 8. 22. 5; KS. 11. 12. In c Ś. has dūraṁ for dvēṣo, the others are bādhethāṁ nírṛtiṁ parācāis. For d Ś. and TS. read as here, the others asme bhadṛā sāuśravasāni santu.

tigmāyudhāu tigmāhetī suśéva sómārudrāv iha su mṛḍā-  
tān naḥ  
prá no mucataṁ duritāvadyád gopāyātaṁ nas sumanas-  
yāmānāuḥ z

T has mṛḍatāṁ in b.

In b read ° ihá sú mṛḍataṁ naḥ, in c no muñcataṁ duritā °, and in d °mānāu.

RV. and MS. have suśevāu in a: RV. has ° varuṇasya pāsād in c and °mānā in d; MS. has mumuktaṁ asmān grasitān abhīke pra yacchataṁ vṛṣaṇā śāntamāni for cd.

sómārudrā dhāráyetham asūryāṁ jīvāsiṣṭvāv áram aṣṇu-  
vātāi |  
yuvāṁ no dhattām iha bhéṣajāni prá yacchataṁ vṛṣaṇā  
jéttāni z

Read: sómārudrā dhāráyethām asuryāṁ ví vām iṣṭāv áram  
aśnuvātāi |  
yuvāṁ no dhattam ihá bheṣajāni prá yacchataṁ vṛṣaṇā  
jétvāni z 3 z

KS. 11. 12 also has this stanza. The other versions are alike, and for b they have pra vām iṣṭayo 'ram aśnuvantu: for cd dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhūnā śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ catuṣpade. For d as here cf. under st. 2.

sómārudrā yuvām asmāsv antas tanūṣi víśva bheṣajāni  
dhattam |  
f29a áva syataṁ mūñcate kíṁ cid éno āngēṣu baddham utā  
yád dīṣatte z 3 z

Read: sómārudrā yuvām asmāsv antas tanūṣu víśvā bheṣajāni  
dhattam |  
áva syataṁ mūñcataṁ kíṁ cid éno āngēṣu baddham  
utā yád mṛṣāte z 4 z 3 z

This stanza occurs Ś. 7. 42. 2 and the other texts as for st. 1.  
All these versions are alike: in a they have ° etāny asme, in b  
they transpose the first two words, in c they have ° yan no asti  
(Ś. asat), and for d tanūṣu baddham kṛtam eno asmat.

110.

Ś. 19. 58. 1-4.

ghṛtāsya jūtis súmanās sudévās saṁvatsarām havīṣū vár-  
dhayanti |  
śrótraṁ cákṣuṣ prāṇa áchinno no stv ácchinna hváyam  
āyusā várcasā z

For a a reading not improbable is ghṛtāsya jūtis sumánās  
sudevā; possibly the reading of Ś. is better, ° samānā sádeva,  
the Ś. mss. giving samanā sádevās. For cd read śrótraṁ cák-  
ṣuṣ prāṇo ácchinno no 'stv ácchinnā vayām āyuso várcasaḥ.

ápāsmān prāṇo hváyatām úpa vayām prāṇāṁ havāmahe |  
várco jagrāha pṛthivyāntárikṣam várcas sómo vṛhaspá-  
tir bíbharti |

Read: úpāsmān prāṇo hvayatām úpa vayām prāṇāṁ havāmahe |  
várco jagrāha pṛthivī antárikṣam várcas sómo vṛhaspá-  
tir bíbharti z 2 z

Ś. has in d ° vṛhaspatir dhartā.

vārcasā dyāvṛpṛthivī saṁgrāṇī babbhuvāthu | várco gṛhī-  
tvā pṛthivīm ānu sām carema |  
yásasā gávo gopates úpa titiṣṭhanty áyatir yáso gṛhītvā  
pṛthivīm ānu sām carema |

For a read várcaso dyāvāpṛthivī saṁgrāhaṇī babbhuvathur and  
omit colon; in c read gópatim and tiṣṭhanty, in b and d anu.

vrajām kṛṇvadhvaṁ sá hí vo nṛpāno vārma sīdyadhvaṁ  
 bahulā prthūni |  
 púnaṣ kṛṇúdhvas áyasīr ásrṣṭa sá vas susróś camasó  
 drhátā tīm z 4 z

Read: vrajām kṛṇudhvaṁ sá hí vo nṛpāno vārmā sīvyadhvaṁ  
 bahulā prthūni |  
 púras kṛṇudhvaṁ áyasīr ádhrṣṭā má vas susroc camasó  
 dṛñhataṁ tám z 4 z 4 z

This stanza occurs also RV. 10. 101. 8; KS. 38. 13; ApŚ. 16. 14. 5; these have varma in b, while Ś. has varmā as here.

## 111.

nyad vátó vāti nyak tapati sūryaḥ  
 nīcīnam aghnyā duha nyag bhavātu tre viṣam.

T has te in d.

In a read nyāg vátó, in b nyāk, in c duhe; for d nyāg bha-  
 vatu te viṣam.

This stanza occurs Ś. 6. 91. 2 and RV. 10. 60. 11. In a RV.  
 has va vāti, in d it and Ś. have rapaḥ.

ní gāvo goṣṭhe asadan ni vatsa titām dyām  
 ny anmayo nadīnām ny ucchuṣmā rasānām z 1 z

T gives ny andayo in c.

In c read ūrmayo: for b I have no suggestion.

With this stanza may be compared Ś. 6. 52. 2 and RV. 1. 191. 4: Ś. reads ni gāvo goṣṭhe asadan ni mṛgāso avikṣata | ny  
 ūrmayo nadīnām ny adrṣṭā alipsata; RV. gives abd thus, but  
 for c it has ni ketavo janānām.

ahīnām ekānām sam hi śīrṣāṇy agrabhaṁ hṛdaṁ sahas-  
 rabāhuḥ  
 parī dravyā ni jamahe viṣam turāṇā viṣamarukṣatām  
 uta |  
 kṛṇomi viśvaṁ bheṣajam āheyam arasaṁ viṣam z 5 z

The ms. corrects dr to bhy or dy in dravyā.

I have no suggestion here.

## 112.

imātarāu savāsīnāu varcasāmje ahaṁ sam anāmahy ena-  
 yor vado  
 yathā na bahavo viduḥ

- varcasā pīnā pṛthivī sūryenottabhitā dyāuḥ  
tviṣīyām paśyāso vā te tāny acche samāurvā |
- f29b veda vāi vām nāmadheyam jigavām aparājitam prajāṁ  
ca bahvīm ā śāse  
rāṣṭram candrābhirakṣitam vidūṣī vām nāmadheyam  
āśvinā sāraghanī madhu |
- sūriṇa cakṣu | rbhūtānām prajāṁ dhārayitam mayi  
rasim dhārayatam mayi śatrapā vy a tanomy ṛgbhyām  
jaghanena ca |
- tasmin yo badhyate bandhe ma me astu niyakṣakaḥ z z z  
om sa me astu nikṣakaḥ z z  
ity atharvavede pāipalādaśākhāyām prathamakāṇḍas  
samāptaḥ z z

This seems to be a prayer to the Aśvins for prosperity, with a suggestion of healing charms in the last hemistich. A few emendations may be made. In the first stanza read varcasāñje, perhaps vedo, and yathā no. In the third, we might read jigīvad, and cendrā°; the next two pādas are good individually but to get them into connection seems impossible. At the beginning of the fourth, sūryo vāi cakṣur seems not impossible; read dhārayatam and rayim; from śatrapā on all seems hopeless. In the first writing of the final pāda read sa; niyakṣakaḥ seems hopeless.

In the colophon we should read pāippalāda°.

*The Story of a Friend in Need. The Arabic text edited from the Vienna Manuscript of el-Ghuzālī and translated for the first time.*—By CHARLES C. TORREY, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

IN the article, "Contributions from the Jāminīya Brāhmaṇa to the history of the Brāhmaṇa literature," in the First Half of this Volume of the Journal, pages 176–188, Professor Oertel has collected a good many ancient anecdotes in which the disguise of a man in woman's dress plays a part. On page 188 he refers to my promise to publish an old Arabic tale of this nature. That promise I now redeem.

The tale first appears, so far as my knowledge goes, in the *Maṣāri' al-'Uṣṣāq* of es-Sarrāj († 500 A. H.); and it was taken thence by el-Ghuzālī († 815) for his *Maṭāli' al-Budūr*. For a statement as to the mutual relation of these two very interesting anthologies, I may refer to my article, "The Filling of a Gap in an old Arabic Anthology," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* for July, 1905, pp. 232–237; see also this Journal, vol. xvi (1893), pp. 43 ff.

I do not know that the story occurs anywhere else. It seems not to have been taken over from el-Ghuzālī into the *Thousand and One Nights* when so many of its companions, including five of the group of seven—of which this story is one—which form the 20th Chapter (في مُسَامَرَةِ أَهْلِ النِّعِيم)<sup>1</sup> in the *Maṭāli' al-Budūr*, were transferred. It is a characteristic anecdote of Bedouin life, interesting and well told. Es-Sarrāj mentions it in another place; see the *Maṣāri'*, p. 333, near the top.

I have chosen the version of the *Maṭāli' al-Budūr*, rather than that of the *Maṣāri' al-'Uṣṣāq*, partly because the materials available for constructing a reliable text of the first named recension are so satisfactory, and partly because of the oppor-

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<sup>1</sup> For the contents of this chapter, and references to parallels in Arabic literature, see this Journal, vol. xvi, p. 44 f., and foot-notes. To the references there given I would add, that the *Seventh Tale* is to be found in Dozy's edition of Ibn Bedrūn, vol. i, pp. 174 ff.

tunity to contribute something to the criticism of the Cairo edition of el-Ghuzūlī (see below). The two recensions differ from each other only very slightly, and for the most part agree word for word. The older writer, es-Sarrāj, begins with a complete chain of authorities, as usual; this is of course omitted by el-Ghuzūlī. I give here the beginning of the story as it appears in the *Masāriʿ al-ʿUṣṣāy*, both for the sake of including the original chain of authorities, and also in order to give a specimen of the variation of the one recension from the other. This variation is especially noticeable at the beginning; in the sequel the two run more closely side by side.

انبأنا محمد بن الحسين الجازري حدثنا القاضي ابو الفرج  
المعافي بن زكريا حدثنا الحسين بن القاسم الكوكبي حدثنا  
عبد الله بن محمد القرشي حدثنا محمد بن صالح الحسني  
حدثني ابي عن نمير بن قحيف الهلالي قال كان في بني هلال  
فتى يقال له بشر ويعرف بالاشتر وكان سيدا حسن الوجه  
شديد القلب سخي النفس وكان معجبا بجارية من قومه تسمى  
جيداء وكانت الجارية بارعة فاشتهر امره وامرها وقع الشر بينه  
وبين اهلها حتى قُتلت بينهم القتلى وكثرت الجراحات ثم  
افترقوا على ان لا ينزل احد منهم بقرب الآخر فلما طال على  
الاشتر البلاء والهجر جاءني ذات يوم فقال الخ .

The text which I print below is that of el-Ghuzūlī, as given in the excellent Vienna manuscript, which I have followed throughout, except in one or two places (indicated in the foot-notes) where I have called in the aid of the Strassburg codex. I have subjoined the variant readings of the Cairo edition (C). It might seem superfluous to publish the Arabic text here, inas-



much as the tale has already been printed twice. But I have thought this a good opportunity to show the inferiority of the Cairo text of el-Ghuzālī. The book as a whole has been described, and its importance indicated, more than once, first of all by von Kremer; but I do not know that any investigation of the relative quality of its text has ever been made, or that it has been collated with any of the known manuscripts, except in my own edition of the *Story of el-'Abbās ibn el-Aḥnaf* (Ghuzālī's "Second Night") in Vol. xvi. of this Journal, where I compared its readings with those of the manuscripts in Vienna, Strassburg, and the Brill Collection (now in Princeton). The Cairo edition is based on a single manuscript, which examination shows to be one of the least reliable of the five which are known. Its quality is well shown in this particular anecdote, where it even gives the names of the principal characters incorrectly—*جيد* and *غير* instead of *نمير* and *جيداء*—and where a comparison of the older recension uniformly shows the Vienna codex to be right as against the Cairo text. It must be added, however, that most of the variations are unimportant.

حدث نمير<sup>١</sup> الهلالى قال كان من فتيان بنى هلال فتى يقال  
له بشر بن عبد الله وكان يعرف بالأشتر وكان من سادات بنى  
هلال احسنهم وجها واسخاهم كفا وكان مغرما بجارة من قومه  
تدعى جيداء<sup>٢</sup> وكانت بارعة الجمال والكمال ثم اشتهر امره  
وامرها وظهر خبرهما بين اهليهما الى ان كاذت بين الفريقين  
دما<sup>٣</sup> ثم افترقوا وبعدت<sup>٤</sup> منازلهم قال<sup>٥</sup> نمير فلما طال الزمان<sup>٦</sup>  
على الاشتر فى الفراق وتمادى البعد جاءنى فقال يا نمير هل

<sup>١</sup> C has غير (!) throughout.

<sup>٢</sup> جيداء C.

<sup>٣</sup> C omits.

<sup>٤</sup> وابتعدت C.

<sup>٥</sup> فقال C.

<sup>٦</sup> C omits this and the following فى.

فيك من خير<sup>1</sup> فقلت<sup>2</sup> ما عندى إلا ما احببت<sup>3</sup> فقال تساعدنى على زيارة جيداء<sup>4</sup> فقد اذهب ألشوق روحى فقلت نعم بالحب والكرامة فانهمض بنا اذا شئت وركبت<sup>5</sup> معه<sup>6</sup> وسرنا<sup>7</sup> يومنا وليلتنا والغد حتى اذا كان العشاء اخذنا راحلتينا في شعب قريب من الفريق فقال لى<sup>8</sup> يا نبيم اذهب فتأنس بالناس وأذكر إن لقيت احداً انك صاحب ضالة ولا تعرض بذكرى بين شفة ولسان<sup>9</sup> الى ان تلقى جاريته فلانة راعية غنهم فاقراها<sup>10</sup> منى السلام وسلها عن الخبر وأعلمها بموضعى قال فخرجت لا اعدو<sup>11</sup> ما امرنى به حتى لقيت الجارية وبلغتها الرسالة واعلمتها مكانه وسالته عن الخبر<sup>12</sup> فقالت هى والله مشدد عليها محتفظ<sup>13</sup> بها ولكن موعدكم اوائل الشجرات اللواتى عند اعقاب البيوت مع صلاة العشاء قال فانصرفت الى صاحبي فاعلمته بالخبر ثم نهضت انا وهو نقود راحلتينا<sup>14</sup> حتى اتينا الموعد<sup>15</sup> فى الوقت

<sup>1</sup> هل لك من خير. C

<sup>2</sup> C has simply ثم in place of this.

<sup>3</sup> اجبته. C

<sup>4</sup> جيد. C

<sup>5</sup> We should probably insert فركب before this.

<sup>6</sup> C omits.

<sup>7</sup> MS. وسرنا. <sup>8</sup> MS. omits لى ; C omits لى. <sup>9</sup> MS. ولا لسان.

<sup>10</sup> ترعى غنهم فاقراها C.

<sup>11</sup> MS. لا اعدو. C لا اعدو الى. The reading which I have followed is the one given in S.

<sup>12</sup> C inserts here (again) واعلمتها بموضعى, a mere clerical error.

<sup>13</sup> تحفظ. C

<sup>14</sup> راحلتنا. C

<sup>15</sup> الى الموضع. C

الموعود<sup>1</sup> فلم نلبث إلا قليلاً وإذا جيداً<sup>2</sup> تمشي قريباً منها  
فوثب الاشتري فصاحها وسلّم عليها وقمت أنا مؤلياً عنهما  
فقالا نقسم عليك بالله الآ ما رجعت فوالله ما نحن في مكروه  
ولا بيننا ما يُستمر عندك فرجعتُ اليهما وجلست معهما فقال  
الاشترى ما فيك حيلة يا جيداً<sup>3</sup> نتعلّل الدليّة قالت لا والله  
وما لى الى ذلك من سبيل إلا ان يرجع الذى عرفت من البلاء  
والشرّ فقال لها لا بدّ من ذلك ولو كان ما عسى ان يكون قالت  
فهل فى صاحبك هذا من خير قلت قولى ما بدا لك فانى انتهى  
الى رايك ولو كان فيه ذهاب روحى فخلعت<sup>4</sup> ثيابها وقالت البسها  
واعطنى ثيابك ففعلت ثم قالت اذهب الى بيتى وادخل فى  
سترى<sup>5</sup> فان زوجى سيأتيك بعد فراغه من الحلب<sup>6</sup> والقدهج  
ملآن فيقول هياك غبوقك<sup>7</sup> فلا تاخذ منه ذلك<sup>8</sup> حتى تطيل<sup>9</sup>  
ذلك عليه ثم خذه او دعه حتى يضعه ويذهب ولست تراه حتى  
يصبح ان شاء الله تعالى قال فذهبتُ ففعلت ما امرتنى به  
حتى اذا جاء بالقدهج لم اخذه حتى طال نكدى<sup>9</sup> عليه ثم

سرى C<sup>4</sup>. فجعلت C<sup>5</sup>. جيد C<sup>2</sup>. المعهود C<sup>1</sup>.

فلا تاخذ منه C<sup>7</sup>. عيقوك C<sup>6</sup>. الحلبه C<sup>5</sup>.

تطل C<sup>8</sup>.

حتى نكد C simply<sup>9</sup>.

اهويت لإخذه<sup>1</sup> منه واهوى هو ليضعه فاختلفت أيدينا على  
 الإضاء فانكفأ القدح وانهرق اللبن فقال إن هذا لطِماح جداً  
 وضرب بيده الى مُقَدِّم البيت واستخرج سوطاً<sup>2</sup> ملوياً مثل  
 الثعبان ثم دخل فهتك الستر على وامتع<sup>3</sup> السوط منى تمام  
 عشرين سوطاً ثم جاءت أمه واخته فانزعزعا<sup>4</sup> من يده ولا  
 والله ما فعلا ذلك حتى زال عقلى وهممت ان اضربه<sup>5</sup> بالسكين  
 وإن كان فيها السموت فلما خرجوا شددت ستري<sup>6</sup> وقعدت  
 كما كنت فلم البث الا قليلا حتى دخلت ام جيداء فكلمتنى  
 وهى لا تشك انى ابنتها فاندفعت فى البكاء والنحيب وتغطيت  
 بشوبى ووليتها ظهري فقالت يا بنية اتقى الله<sup>7</sup> ولا تنعزضى  
 لمكروه<sup>8</sup> زوجك فذاك أولى بك وأما الاشتري فذاك آخر الدهر  
 وخرجت من عندى وقالت سأرسل اختك تؤنسك الليلة فلبثت  
 غير كثير<sup>9</sup> واذا الجارية قد جاءت فجعلت تبكى وتدعو على من  
 ضربنى وانا لا اكلّمها ثم انضجعت الى جنبى فلما استمكنث  
 منها شددت يدى على فيها وقلت يا هذه تلك اختك مع

<sup>1</sup> MS. لا أخذه. <sup>2</sup> MS. صوتا. <sup>3</sup> C. وامتع. <sup>4</sup> C. فاذنزعاه.

<sup>5</sup> MS. اوجبه; C. اوحبة. I have followed S. The *Maṣāʾir* al-'Uṣṣāq has اوجره, which is probably the original.

<sup>6</sup> MS. omits.

<sup>7</sup> C adds فى نفسك.

<sup>8</sup> C بمكروه.

<sup>9</sup> فما لبثت غير دقيقة C.

الاشتر وقد قطع ظهري الليلة في سببها<sup>1</sup> وانت أولى بالسَّتر  
عليها فاختارى لنفسك ولها ولئن والله تكلمت بكلمة  
لأصيحنَّ أنا بجهدى حتى تكون الفضيحة شاملة ثم رفعت<sup>2</sup>  
يدى عن فيها فاهترت كما يهتزّ القضيب فلم ازل بها حتى  
أنست بى فباتت والله معى<sup>3</sup> احسن رفيق رافقته ولم نزل  
نتحدث وهى تضحك<sup>4</sup> متى ومما نالنى وتمكنت منها تمكّن من  
لو أَران ريبة<sup>5</sup> فعلها ولكن الله عصم فله الحمد ولم نزل كذلك  
حتى طلع الفجر وإذا جيداء<sup>6</sup> قد دخلت علينا فلما رأتنا  
ارتعادت<sup>7</sup> وقالت ويحك من هذه فقلت اختك قالت وما الخبر  
قلت هى تُخبرك فانها والله نعم الاخت واخذت ثيابى ومضيت  
الى صاحبى فركبت انا وهو وحدته بما اصابنى وكشفت له عن  
ظهري فاذا فيه ضرب رمى الله ضاربه بالنار كلَّ ضربة يخرج  
منها الدم فلما رآنى كذلك قال لقد عظم صنعك ووجب شكر  
وطالت يدك فلا حرمنى<sup>8</sup> الله مكافأئك ولم يزل لى شاكراً  
معترفاً .

<sup>1</sup> بسببها C .

<sup>2</sup> C has حتى تكون الفضيحة شاملتهم فلما سمعت ذلك دفعت .

<sup>3</sup> MS. مع . Es-Sarrāj gives a preferable text here.

<sup>4</sup> MS. وتضحك ; C وتضحك . I follow S.

<sup>5</sup> ريبة C . The reading which I have adopted is also given by es-Sarrāj .  
<sup>6</sup> جيد C . <sup>7</sup> ارتعادت C (sic) . <sup>8</sup> احرمنى C .

## TRANSLATION.

Numeir, of the tribe Hilāl, narrates the following: There was a certain youth of the Benī Hilāl whose name was Biṣr ibn ‘Abdallāh, but who was commonly known as el-Aṣṭar. Among all the chieftains of the tribe, his was the handsomest face and the most liberal hand. He fell desperately in love with a girl of his people named Jeidā’, who was preëminent in her beauty and her accomplishments; then after the fact of their attachment became generally known, the affair grew to be a cause of strife between their two families, until blood was shed; whereupon the two clans separated, and settled at a long distance apart from each other.

So when (says Numeir) the time of separation grew so long for el-Aṣṭar that he could bear it no more, he came to me, and said: “O Numeir, have you no aid for me?” I answered: “There is with me naught but what you wish.” Then he said: “You must help me to visit Jeidā’, for the longing to see her has carried away my soul.” “Most gladly and freely!” I replied; “Only set out, and we will go whenever you wish.” So we rode away together, and journeyed that day and night, and the morrow until evening, when we halted our beasts in a ravine near the settlement of the clan we were seeking. Then he said: “Do you go on, and mingle with the people; and when you meet any one, say that you are in search of a stray camel. Let no mention of me pass lip or tongue, until you find her servant-girl, named so-and-so, who is tending their sheep. Give her my greeting and ask her for tidings; tell her also where I am.”

So I went forth, not averse to do what he bade me, until I found the servant-girl and brought her the message, telling her where el-Aṣṭar was, and asking her for tidings. She sent back this word: “She is treated harshly, and they keep watch of her. But your place of meeting will be the first of those trees which are near by the hindermost of the tents, and the time the hour of the evening prayer.”

So I returned to my comrade, and told him what I had heard. Thereupon we set out, leading our beasts, until we came to the designated spot at the appointed time. We had waited only a few moments when we saw Jeidā’ walking toward us. El-Aṣṭar sprang forward and seized her hand, giving her his greeting,

while I withdrew a little from them; but they both cried out: "We adjure you by Allah to come back, for we intend nothing dishonorable, nor is there anything between us that need be hid from you." So I returned to them and sat beside them. Then el-Astar said: "Can you contrive no way, Jeidā', by which we may have this night to ourselves?" "No," she replied, "nor is it in any way possible for me, without the return of all that misery and strife of which you know." "Nevertheless it must be," he answered, "even if that results which seems likely." But she said: "Will this friend of yours assist us?" I answered: "Only say what you have devised; for I will go through to the very end of your plan, though the loss of my life should be in it." Thereupon she took off her outer garments, saying: "Put these on, and give me your garments in place of them." This I did. Then she said: "Go to my tent, and take your place behind my curtain<sup>1</sup>; for my husband will come to you, after he has finished milking, bringing a full jar of milk, and he will say: 'Here, your evening draught!' But do not take it from him, until you have tried his patience well; then either take it or leave it, so that he will put it down and go away; and then (please Allah) you will not see him again until morning."

So I went away, and did as she had bidden me. When he came with the jar of milk I refused to take it, until he was thoroughly tired of my contrariness; then I wished to take it from him, and he at the same time wished to put it down; so our two hands met at cross purposes on the jar, and it upset, and the milk was all spilled. Thereupon he cried out: "This is willfulness beyond the limit!", and he thrust his hand into the front part of the tent and brought out a leather whip coiled like a serpent. Then he came in, tearing down my curtain, and had used the whip on me for full twenty lashes when his mother and sister entered and pulled me out of his hands. But, by Allah, before they did this I had lost control of myself, and was just ready to stab him with my knife, whether it cost me my life or not. However, as soon as they had gone out I fastened up my curtain again, and sat down as before.

Only a short time had passed when Jeidā's mother entered and spoke to me, never doubting that I was her daughter. But I struck up a weeping and a sobbing, and hid my face in my

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<sup>1</sup> I. e., in her private apartment.

garment, turning my back to her. So she said: "O my dear daughter, fear Allah and keep from displeasing your husband, for that is where your duty lies; as for el-Aṣṭar, you have seen him for the last time." Then as she was going out she said: "I will send in your sister to keep you company tonight." And sure enough, after a few minutes the girl appeared. She began crying and calling down curses on him who beat me, but I made no answer. Then she nestled up close to me. As soon as I had her in my power, I clapped my hand over her mouth, and said: "O Such-a-one, that sister of yours is with el-Aṣṭar, and it is in her service that my back has been flayed this night. Now it behooves you to keep her secret, so choose for yourself and for her; for by Allah, if you utter a single word, I will make all the outcry I can, until the disgrace becomes general." Then I took away my hand from her mouth. She trembled like a branch<sup>1</sup> in the wind; but after we had been together a little while she made friends with me, and there passed the night with me then and there the most delightful companion I have ever had. We did not cease chatting together, and she was also rallying me, and laughing at the plight I was in. And I found myself in the position of one who, had he wished to take a base advantage, could have done so; but Allah restrained from evil, and to him is the praise.

Thus we continued until the dawn broke, when lo, Jeidā' stole in upon us. When she saw us, she started, and cried out: "Allah! Who is this?" Your sister!" I replied. "What has happened?" she asked. "She will tell you," I answered, for she, on my word, is the sweetest of sisters." Then I took my own clothing, and made off to my companion. As we rode, I narrated to him what had happened to me, and bared my back for him to see. Such a flaying as it had had—may Allah throw into hell-fire the man who did it!—from every single stripe the blood was oozing out. When he saw this, he exclaimed: "Great was the deed which you did, and great the acknowledgment due you; your hand was generous indeed! May Allah not withhold me from repaying you in full." And from that time on he never ceased to show me his gratitude and appreciation.

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<sup>1</sup> The text of the *Maṣāʾirī* is probably the original here, reading قصبۃ "reed," instead of قضيب.



*Additions to the Fifth Series of Contributions from the Jāimīnīya Brāhmaṇa* (JAOS. xxvi. 176 ff.).—By HANNES OERTEL, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

I. (Add<sup>1</sup> to p. 177, line 15.) The story of Pramati in the Daśakumāracarita is identical in plot with the following tales, all going back to the same source: (1) The sixty-second story of the Śukasaptati (R. Schmidt's edition of the textus simplicior in *Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* x, 1893, p. 180 f. = p. 89 f. of his German translation, Kiel, 1894). (2) Kathāsaritsāgara vii. 41 f. (p. 81 f. in Brockhaus' edition, Leipzig 1839; translated *ibid.* p. 27 = Brockhaus, *Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva Bhatta*, Leipzig, 1843, vol. i, p. 67; also in the Kathāsaritsāgara translated by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880, vol. i, p. 44). (3) The Vetālapañcaviṅcatikā, chap. xv. The poetical version in Brockhaus' edition of the Kathāsaritsāgara (Leipzig, 1866, *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* vol. iv), p. 345 ff.; translated by C. H. Tawney, vol. ii, p. 301 ff. The prose version of Čivadāsa in H. Uhle, *Die Vetālapañcaviṅcatikā* (*Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. viii), Leipzig, 1881, p. 35 f. and still another anonymous prose version *ibid.* p. 84. (4) Kathāsaritsāgara xviii. 122, in Brockhaus' ed. (Leipzig, 1866, *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, vol. iv) p. 597. Translated by C. H. Tawney, vol. ii, p. 587. This story is, in a way, very much like the Greek tale of Leukippos and Daphne, for Malayavatī is a man-hating virgin (cf. Rohde, *Der Griech. Roman*, p. 147, note 4). The story is here cast in the form of a dream. (5) The twenty-third story of the Persian Tūtī-nāmah.<sup>2</sup> Text and translation in the *Tooti-nameh, or Tales of a Parrot* (Calcutta, printed: London, reprinted for J. Debrett, Piccadilly, July 1801), p. 117 f.<sup>3</sup> Here an actual transformation is brought

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachisi*, Leipzig, 1873, p. 203; Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, 2d edition, p. 48-49.

<sup>2</sup> Oesterley refers to Rosen, *Tuti-Nameh, Das Papageienbuch*, Leipzig, 1858, vol. ii, p. 178, for a Turkish version of this tale.

<sup>3</sup> Landau refers to C. I. L. Iken's translation in *Touti-Nameh, Eine Sammlung persischer Märchen von Nechschebi*, Stuttgart, 1823, p. 97; M. Wickerhauser, *Die dreissig Nächte*, Hamburg, 1863, p. 249; and Rosen ii, p. 178.

about by a magic ball and continues as long as this is carried in the mouth. (6) The sixteenth tale of the **משלי סנראבר**, the Hebrew version of the Book of the Seven Sages. Text, translation, and notes in *Mischle Sindbad, Secundus Syntipas, edirt, emendirt und erklärt* . . . von P. Cassel (Berlin, 1891, third edition) fol. N<sup>o</sup> of the Hebrew text, vs. 582 ff. and pp. 288 and 154 respectively.<sup>1</sup>

I find that most of these tales, viz., Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 6, are referred to in Landau's *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, 2d edition, p. 48 f. He further compares the twenty-second story of the Latin *Historia de Cubannia Novercali* (printed in Antwerp, 1490), which has the title 'De adventu filii regis contra novercam et ipso exitu iudicii.' I have not been able to see this tale, but from Keller's summary (H. A. Keller, *Li Romans des Sept Sages*, Tübingen, 1836, Introduction, p. xxxiv) it would seem that the queen is here an accomplice, and not at all herself duped by the disguise as is the case in the other stories. It would then rather form a transition to those tales in which the wife conceals her lover from her husband by dressing him as one of her maidservants. Instances of this are rather numerous.<sup>2</sup> Cassel in *Mischle Sindbad*, Berlin,

<sup>1</sup> Landau's Tabelle B (after p. 340) doubtfully (with a ?) gives only one parallel, viz. No. 24 of the Libro de los Engannos et los asayamientos de las mugeres (Ricerche intorno al Libro di Sindibad per D. Comparetti, Milan, 1869, in vol. xi of the *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*). This, however, must be a mistake; Dr. Schwill, who was kind enough to look through the Spanish collection, failed to find any parallel.

<sup>2</sup> Keller, *Li Romans des Sept Sages*, Tübingen, 1836, p. cxxxiv: 'Ein als Kammerfrau verkleideter Buhle tritt oft in den alten Erzählungen auf.' R. Köhler, *Klein. Schrift.* ii (1900), p. 602 and C. Vossler, *Stud. z. vergl. Litteraturgesch.* hrsg. v. M. Koch, ii (1902), p. 13, refer to a story of the Jewish writer Joseph Sahara (twelfth century, Spain); to two stories from G. Sercambi's *Novelle inedite* (Renier's edition, Torino, 1889), No. 4, 'De magna prudentia,' and No. 33, 'De falsitate mulieris'; to No. 8 of Vatican Ms. 1716, 'Du roy Alphons qui fut trompé par le [sic] malice de sa femme'; and to Nicolas de Troyes' *Le Grand Parangon*, No. 124, 'D'un Empereur qui avoit une femme la plus paillarde du monde, tellement qu' elle avoit douze compaignons abillés en demoiselles qui couchoit avec elle.' Compare further Domenico Batacchi (Padre Atanasio da Verrocchio) *Novelle galanti*, No. 6, 'Re Grattafico'; R. Köhler, *Klein. Schrift.* iii (1900), p. 163: 'Ein heiratslustiger, aber miss-trauischer König besucht in der Verkleidung einer Frau und mit der

1891, p. 155, refers to Kathāsaritsāgara i. 5, especially vs. 36, (Brockhaus' ed, Leipzig, 1839, p. 47, translated *ibid.* p. 15 = Brockhaus, *Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva Bhatta*, Leipzig, 1843, p. 35, and C. H. Tawney's transl. Calcutta, 1880, vol. i, p. 25), and Martinus Crusius' *Annales Suevici* [published at Frankfurt, 1595-96; a German version is printed in J. J. Moser's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum de rebus Suevicis*, etc., Frankfurt, 1733], ii. 170. Liebrecht and Benfey (*Orient und Occident* i, 1862, 341 ff. and p. 344 ff.) compared with this Çukasaptati, chapters 5-9 (p. 19 of R. Schmidt's edition, p. 11 of his translation), and a tale of the Turkish Tûtinâmah (Rosen, *Tuti-Namch, Das Papageienbuch*, Leipzig, 1858, vol. ii, p. 93), whence it passed into Occidental literature: so in the story of Merlin<sup>1</sup> (cf. F. W. V. Schmidt, *Die Märchen des Straparola*, Berlin, 1817, p. 335; G. Paris, *Roman des Sept Sages de Rome*, Introduction p. xxvii f.; W. E. Mead in the Introduction (p. cccxix) to H. B. Wheatley, *Merlin or the Early History of King Arthur*, London, 1899, where the English version is given in vol. II, p. 426 ['this Iulys cesar hadde a wif that was a grete bewte, and she hadde with hir xij yonge men arraied in gise of wymen']; Hans v. Büchel's *Dyocletianus Leben* (Keller's ed. Quedlinburg, 1841, p. 209; F. W. V. Schmidt, *Die Märchen*

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Fähigkeit, sich unsichtbar zu machen, drei Prinzessinnen,' etc. Einaiut Oollah [Ināyat Allāh], *Bahar-Damush*, or Garden of Knowledge, translated from the Persian by Jonathan Scott, Shrewsbury, 1799, vol. iii, p. 293, 'A king's daughter has fallen in love with a young man, whom she has brought into her palace disguised as a female,' etc.; R. Köhler, *Klein. Schrift.* ii (1900), 396. Dr. Schwill called my attention to two other passages, in Spanish literature, which introduce a youth in female disguise; the one is in Cervantes' *Persiles y Sigismunda*, iii. 8 (Madrid, 1617), the other in chap. 8 of Alonso Núñez de Reinoso's *Historia de los Amores de Clareo y Florisea, y de los trabaxos de Ysea*, Venecia, 1552, reprinted in vol. iii of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1853), *Novelistas anteriores á Cervantes*, p. 436, col. 2 (bottom). To Dr. Le Conte I owe a reference to Balzac's 'Berthe La Repentie,' fourth story of the third decade of his *Contes Drôlatiques* (*Œuvres Complètes de H. de Balzac*, Paris, 1870, vol. xix, p. 385 ff.) See also the references collected by Bolte in his note on No. 15 of Montanus' *Wegkürzer*, in *Biblioth. d. Litterar. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 217, 1899, p. 569, and to No. 110 of the *Gartengesellschaft* (*Ibid.*, p. 631).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also R. Köhler, *Klein. Schrift.* ii (1900), p. 602, and Fischer and Bolte in *Bibliothek d. Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 208 (1896), p. 216.

*des Straparola*, p. 340-341); cf. also the Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum*, chapter 22 (a brief resumé in H. A. Keller, *Li Romans des Sept Sages*, Tübingen, 1836, p. xxxiv.) Schmidt (l. c. 341) further compares *Arabian Nights*, German transl. by M. Habicht, K. Schall, and F. H. v. d. Hagen, i, p. 10=English transl., by R. F. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, reprinted . . . by L. C. Smithers, London, 1893, vol. i, p. 5.

Here belongs also, in history, the famous escapade of P. Clodius Pulcher (Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopædie, iv, 83; Tyrell, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, 2d edition, i, 1885, p. 21), who, in female disguise, entered the house of Cæsar while the rites of the Bona Dea were being celebrated (Cic. *ad Att.* 1. 12. 3, P. Clodium, Appii filium, credo te audisse cum veste muliebri deprensus domi C. Caesaris, cum pro populo fieret, eumque per manus servulæ servatum et educatum) which resulted in Cæsar's divorce from Pompeia (Suet. *Div. Iulius*, 6, cum qua [=Pompeia] deinde divortium fecit, adulteratam opinatus a P. Clodio quem inter publicas caerimonia penetrasse ad eam muliebri veste tam constans fama erat).

II. (Add after line 16, p. 183.) Guilelmus Blesensis states in the prologue to his *Alda*<sup>1</sup> (in which a youth gains access to his beloved by means of female disguise), that he took the plot of his poem from one of Menander's plays, the name of which he translates into Latin by 'mascula Virgo.' On the basis of this Lohmeyer holds that Menander's comedy 'Ἀνδρόγυνος ἡ Κρής, of which only a few words have come down to us, had a plot similar to that of the *Alda*. Cf. *Guilelmi Blesensis Aldæ comædia* ed. C. Lohmeyer (Lipsiae, 1892), p. 21, for a conjectural outline of Menander's plot and a detailed discussion of the whole question of William de Blois' indebtedness. The same learned editor of the *Alda* gives also the following additional parallels: (1) The old French lay of Floris et Liriope by Robert de Blois<sup>2</sup> which gives the history of Floris and Liriope, the parents of Narcissus, and was edited by Zingerle (*Altfranzösische Biblio-*

<sup>1</sup> This poem, I find, is referred to by Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Shortly after the publication of my first paper my colleague, Professor Warren, called my attention to this. He thinks that Robert de Blois borrowed the plot from some Latin tale.

theek xii, 1891). The management of the plot is here particularly clever. Liriope is the daughter of Narcissus, king of Thebes. One of his vassals has two twin children, a boy, Floris, and a girl, Florie. Florie is Liriope's playmate. And when Floris falls in love with Liriope he persuades his sister Florie to exchange garments with him. (2) Douin's *Roman de Trubert*,<sup>1</sup> in M. Méon's *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris, 1823, vol. I, p. 192, and (3) 'Der scholaere ze Paris,' in F. II. v. d. Hagen's *Gesammtabenteuer*, vol. i, p. 277, No. xiv; cf. preface, pp. liv and cxxvii. This last reference I cannot verify. In the French fabliau *La Saineresse* (A. de Montaiglon et G. Raynaud, *Recueil général et complet des Fabliaux*, Paris, 1872-1890, vol. i, p. 289) the lover disguises himself as a woman-doctor<sup>2</sup> (*une saineresse*); cf. A. Preime, *Die Frau in den altfranzösischen Fabliaux* (Göttingen Diss.), Cassel, 1901, pp. 36 and 126.

My colleague Dr. Schwill called my attention to the similar plot in the *Don Juan* cycle, e. g. in Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla*;<sup>3</sup> cf. Byron's *Don Juan*, Canto V; the scene in the harem (Canto VI) according to Gronow's *Reminiscences*, 1889, i, p. 62, was based on a practical joke of Dan Mackinnon, who disguised himself as a nun when Wellington visited a convent near Lisbon, see E. II. Coleridge's *Works of Lord Byron, Poetry*, vol. VI (1903) p. 276.

The disguise of a lover in girl's clothes must have been a very common motif in the pastoral romances, such as D'Urfé's *Astrée* (where Celadon lives at the home of Adamas and Léonide disguised as their daughter Alexis and thus sees his beloved *Astrée*, cf. the summary in H. Koerting's *Geschichte d. französ. Romans im XVII Jahrhundert*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1891, p. 95 and p. 111,

<sup>1</sup> Here Trubert originally assumes the disguise in order to escape being recognized by the duke. My colleague, Dr. Curdy, was good enough to look through this long drawn out romance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Śukasaptati ed. Schmidt, p. 175=Schmidt's translation, p. 87 f., where the lover gains access as a physician, and the same motif in the tale published by Liebrecht in *Germania*, xxi (1876), p. 394, No. 23 (cf. J. Bedier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1893 [=Fasc. 98 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études] p. 426).

<sup>3</sup> *Comedias escogidas de Fray Gabriel Tellez* (El Maestro Tirso de Molina) edited by J. E. Hartzenbusch in vol. V of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Madrid, 1903 (4th edition), p. 572. First edition of the play at Barcelona, 1630.

note, 2; A. Le Breton, *Le Roman au dix-septième siècle*, Paris, 1890, p. 13; P. Morillot in P. de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, IV, 1897, p. 414), for Charles Sorel ridicules it in his parodistic *Le Berger extravagant*, published in 1628 (H. Koerting, l. c., II,<sup>2</sup> 1891, p. 71 ff., see p. 79 for the disguise). In the fourth book *Lysis* is disguised by *Hircan* as a handsome country-wench, *Amarillis*, and so gains access to the castle of his beloved *Charite*; "and when he view'd himself sometimes in his Shepherdesses habit, he said in himself, No, no, there is no shame to put on this garb when *Love* commands it. The great *Alcides* chang'd his club into a distaff and put on *Joles* gown instead of his Lyons skin. Was not *Poliarchus*<sup>2</sup> cloath'd like a maid, and was called *Theocrine*? And did not *Celadon* do the like, and was called *Alexis*? This is the principal subject of *Romances*, and an amorous history is never good if there be not a young man puts on maids cloathes, or a maid a mans. I appeal to all those who pass away their days in that delightful reading." Similarly the English translator, John Davies, says<sup>3</sup> in his preface ("The Translator to the Reader"): "For his [i. e. *Lysis*'] disguising himself like a maid, and his perswasions that he was really one, and was taken for one, 'tis an humor so threadbare in all Books of Shepherdry and Love-stories, that I need say no more of it; only I shall note, that it is more probable in *Lysis*; for *Hircan* caus'd him to be trim'd, a thing those Authours thought not on, but putting on other cloathes, without any circumstance other they are presently what sex they please."

<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from John Davies' translation: *The Extravagant Shepherd: or, the History of the Shepherd Lysis. An Anti-Romance written originally in French and now made English.* London, 1654, p. 93-94.

<sup>2</sup> The hero of John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621). Joannis Barclaii *Argenis*. Editio IIII. Parisiis, 1625, p. 491 and 558=Barclay his *Argenis* or the Loves of Polyarchus and *Argenis* faithfully translated out of Latin into English by Kingsmill Long. London, 1636. Liber III, chapter 8 (p. 316) and chapter 17 (p. 362). Cf. H. Koerting, l. c. I<sup>2</sup> (1891), p. 149. The same novel is again referred to by Sorel in the thirteenth book ('The Oration of Clarimond against Poetry, Fables and Romances'): "... the fame of *Argenis's* beauty makes him fall in love with her. He goes into *Sicily*, disguised as a maid to live with her," p. 65 of Davies' translation which begins a fresh numbering of pages with book XII.

<sup>3</sup> Signature *b*, verso. The preface is not paged.

III. (Add to p. 186, line 16.) To the Sanskrit story of Indra assuming the shape of Ahalyā's husband may be added two from the Çukasaptati, viz. the third tale (Schmidt's ed. of the textus simplicior, 1893, in vol. x of *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, p. 11 f.=Schmidt's German translation, 1894, p. 7 f.) where the rogue Kuṭila enamored of the merchant Vimala's two wives prays to the goddess Ambikā, by her help is transformed into the likeness of Vimala, and during the merchant's absence from home impersonates him. And the conclusion of the Çukasaptati (Schmidt's text, p. 203=translation, p. 100) where a Vidhyādhara assumes the form of the Gandharva Kana-kaprabha and thus deceives the latter's wife Madananañjarī. Also Kathāsaritsāgara vi. 33 (Brockhaus' edition, Leipzig, 1862, in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, vol. ii, p. 59,=C. II. Tawney's English translation, Calcutta, 1880, i, p. 300) where Madanavega, the king of the Vidyādhara, with Śiva's help assumes one night the form of the king of Vatsa, enters in his shape the palace of the princess Kaliṅgasenā, and thus tricks her into marrying him. This last story is referred to by M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 74. Here may also be found a number of other interesting parallels: Herodotus vi. 68-70 relates that the hero Astrabacus (cf. Wide, *Lakonische Culte*, 1893, p. 279) was the reputed father of the Spartan king Demaratus; he appeared to Aristo's wife in the guise of her husband. This, according to Landau, is the story of Agilulf and Theudelinde in the *Dekameron* III. 2, in Lafontaine's *Le Muletier*<sup>1</sup> (Oeuvres complètes, vol. II. (Paris, 1857), p. 71), and in *Deutsche Sagen* hrsg. v. d. Brüdern Grimm, vol. II (1891, 3d ed.) No. 404, p. 31 f.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Schwill called my attention to a very similar story in Heliodorus Aethiop. iii. 13-14. The brief statement there no doubt implies that Hermes impersonated the husband of Homer's mother. Landau also refers to the seventeenth story of the Turkish Tâtî-nâmah (in Rosen's translation, Leipzig, 1858, vol. II, p. 15=Wickerhauser, *Die dreissig Nächte*, Hamburg, 1863, p. 167), a Jewish

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *ὄνομαστὶς* in Herod. vi. 6, 8. Boccaccio's story of King Agilulf and his groom is also found as No. 16 (edition of 1800)=No. 19 (edition of 1856), 'La notte di Befana' in Domenico Batacchi's *Novelle galanti*; cf. R. Köhler, *Klein. Schrift.* iii (1900), p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing suggesting it in Paulus Diaconus, iii, 35.

legend told in *Midrash Rabbah* and *Midrash Tanchuma* to Exodus ii. 11, a tale in the Arabic *Katilah and Dinnah* or Fables of Pidpay (cf. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, Leipzig, i (1859), p. 299, § 111; it should be noted, however, that in this version and those derived from it, it is not the husband who is impersonated and deceived, but the wife's paramour is impersonated by his servant<sup>1</sup> who borrows his mantle,) etc.

My colleague, Professor Baur, calls my attention to Poseidon's impersonation of Enipeus and his deception of Tyro, Homer *Od.* xi. 235-47; Apollodorus *Biblioth.* i. 9-8; Nonnus *Dionys.* i. 121; Lucian *Dialog. marin.* 13. Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 116, tells the same story in a slightly different version, substituting Iphimedeia, the mother of the Aloidæ (=Otos and Ephialtes) for Tyro.

Very similar, but without the disguise, are Chaucer's Reve's tale which rests on some French fabliau, such as *De Gombert et des deux clers* and *Le meunier et les deux clers* (vols. i, p. 238, and v, p. 83 in Montaiglon and Raynaud's collection). Cf. the further references in Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, p. 419, Ta.

IV. (Add to p. 188, line 3) (1) the story in IV. 2 of the Decameron is connected by Landau (*Die Quellen des Dekameron*<sup>2</sup>, p. 293) with the Nectanabus story of Pseudo-Callisthenes, by Dunlop (*History of Fiction*, London, 1845, 3d ed., p. 222=p. 232 of Liebrecht's translation, Berlin, 1851) with Josephus' tale of Mundus and Paulina.<sup>2</sup> (2) I have not access to Jülg's edition and translation of the Mongolian Siddhi-Kür (Innsbruck, 1866), but the eleventh tale appears to belong here (see Landau's short summary, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, 1884, p. 101). (3) My colleague, Professor Baur, calls my attention to a number of miraculous cures in the Asclepius sanctuary at Epidauros, which strongly suggest an impersonation of the god by his priests.

<sup>1</sup> On this motif cf. R. Köhler, *Klein. Schrift.* ii, 1900, p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, 1893, p. 89, note 2, and below, No. 4.—Decameron iv. 2, is repeated as No. 5 ('Il falso Serafino') in Domenico Batacchi's *Novelle galanti*, cf. R. Köhler, *Klein. Schrift.* iii. (1900) p. 163. It has often been retold, see Bolte's note to No. 30 of Montanus' *Wegkürzer (Bibliothek d. Litterar. Vereins zu Stuttgart)*, vol. 217, 1899, p. 574), also No. 46 of Dietrich Mahrold's *Schmahl unndt Kahl Roldmarsch Kasten (Ibid.* vol. 209, 1896, p. 270). Somewhat similar is No. 94 ('Von nachtfertigen geisten') in J. Frey's *Gartengesellschaft (Ibid.* vol. 209, 1896, p. 110 and 253).



See P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure* I (1893, Athens), p. 30, lines 60–63, p. 31, lines 116–119 and 129–132 (=Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, 1889, vol. iii, No. 3340 = Baumaek, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der griech. und der arischen Sprachen* I (1886) No. 80, p. 131, and *Aus Epidaurus* (1890) No. 80). Cf. P. Baur, Eileithyia, *Philologus, Supplementband* viii (1889–91), p. 491, note 83 = *The University of Missouri Studies*, vol. I, No. 4 (1892), p. 59, note 86. (4) J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, 1893 (=vol. 98 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*) p. 89, compares the Milesian tale in the tenth of the letters traditionally ascribed to the orator Aeschines, where Cimon impersonates the river god Scamander. Cf. Rohde in *Verhandlungen des XXX. Philol. Versammlung zu Rostock*, 1875 (Leipzig, 1876), p. 67 = *Der griech. Roman*, 2d edition, 1900, p. 596.

V. (Add to p. 195, line 29.) In the JB. version (i. 125 f.) of the legend of Uśanas Kāvya and the Battle of the Gods and Asuras (MBh. i. 76. 6; cf. Geldner in *Fed. Stud.* ii, 1892, p. 167), Indra assumes the shape of a leech (*jalāyukā*), of a *ṛṇaka* ('blade of grass,' or, perhaps = *ṛṇajalāyukā* 'caterpillar'), and of a parrot (*śuka*).

*Conjectanea Talmudica: Notes on Rev. 13:18; Matt. 23:35 f.; 28:1; 2 Cor. 3:14-16; Jubilees 34:4, 7; 7:4.*—By  
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1. "The Number of the Beast," Rev. 13:18. Caligula and Nero.

Ὡδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν· ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου, ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν· καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῦ χξς' (v. l. χς').

Most scholars rightly understand the author in these words to apprise his readers that the number 666 (or 616) conceals the name of a man, which is to be found by reckoning the numerical value of its letters in the method of "gematria" (γραμματεία). The objection that, if this had been his meaning, he should have written ἀνθρώπου τινός has no force in this barbarous translation Greek: ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου is the literal equivalent of a Semitic מנינא דבר נשא or מספר בן אדם. The alternative interpretation, 'human (i. e. ordinary) number,' is meaningless; cabbalistic operations on numbers are often most extraordinary, but they are always performed on 'ordinary' numbers.

The reading of almost all the manuscripts, 666, has long since been correctly reckoned out by 'those who have understanding' as נרון קסר, Nērōn Kēsar (50+200+6+50, 100+60+200=666). The spelling קסר (not קיסר) is abundantly attested in inscriptions and is undoubtedly the older orthography.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Other decipherments, from Irenaeus on, belong only to the history—or the curiosities—of exegesis. To the latter class must be assigned Gunkel's mythological interpretation. That ingenious scholar discovers in 666, תהום קדמוניה (*sic*), "Primaeval Chaos," our old acquaintance, the Babylonian Chaos-monster. According to him קדמוני is in Jewish writings "the standing attribute of those figures of primaeval times which themselves reappear in the last times, or at least have antitypes then" (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, 377). This sweeping assertion is illustrated by two examples, אדם הקדמוני the 'primal man' (Adam), and נחש הקדמוני 'the primal serpent' (the tempter of Gen. 3). These happen, by a curious coincidence, to be the only examples of this "standing attribute" which are given in Levy's *Wörterbuch*. As to

There is, however, another reading, 616, represented by codd. C and 11, and attested by Tichonius and Irenaeus. The latter discusses the variant at some length, and it may be inferred from his emphatic repudiation of it that it had more currency in his time than would appear from our manuscript evidence. He surmises that it originated in an error of transcription; but this is not very probable. Many modern interpreters consider 616 as another "gematria" on the name of Nero, written נרו קסר; there is, however, no evidence that the name was ever written in this way, and a very strong presumption to the contrary. Nor has it escaped notice that the distinctive feature of the vision in Rev. 13, viz., that an image of the beast is made which men are constrained on pain of death to worship, points to Caligula rather than Nero. Following a suggestion of Zahn, therefore, Spitta, Otto Holtzmann, Erbes, and others explain the reading 616 as equivalent to *Táōs Kaiōrap* (cf. 888 = *Ἰησοῦς*, *Sibyll.* i. 327 ff., a passage which Irenaeus seems to have in mind). If this view be correct, an older Jewish apocalypse from the last

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the former, אדם הקדמוני is common in the Kabbala, but in the older literature the regular expression is אדם הראשון; in fact, the example cited by Levy from *Bemidbar Rabbah*, c. 10 (compiled about the 12th century), is the only instance of אדם הקדמוני I have noted. The phrase אדם הראשון, moreover, has no eschatological implications; it serves merely to distinguish 'the first Man' from man in general (אדם). The second expression, נחש הקדמוני, occurs more frequently, e. g. *Beresith Rabbah*, c. 22, cf. *Debarim Rabbah*, c. 5; but with no reference to a reappearance of the "old serpent" in the last times. So far, then, from being a "standing attribute" of any kind, קדמוני is an infrequent synonym of ראשון, and is of no mysterious significance.

In Trevelyan's life of Macaulay there is an amusing story about an Englishman in India who tried to prove to Macaulay that Napoleon was the Beast, because, he said, if Napoleon's name be written in Arabic with the omission of only two letters, it gives 666. Professor Gunkel's 666 is obtained by a similar procedure: by omitting the article—for which תהום רבה is no warrant—and giving to קדמוני a feminine ending which is not used in adjectives of this type (as if from יהודי one should make יהודיה instead of יהודית) he gets the necessary sum and, incidentally, a grammatical monstrosity as well as a mythical monster.

years of Caligula has been altered by Christian hands in the reign of Domitian, and adapted to c. 17; one part of this adaptation being the change of 616 (Caligula) to 666 (Nero). An obvious difficulty of the hypothesis in this form is that it assumes the original numerical cipher, 616, to be calculated on the Greek name, while the substitute, 666, is based on the Hebrew. So far as I know, it has not been observed that the Hebrew name of Caligula, גסקלגס (Gaskalgas) has the same value, 616 ( $3+60+100+30+3+60$ ,  $100+60+200$ ). The spelling is fortunately free from the uncertainties that beset names containing ו and י; קלגס (pl. קלגסים) is the Latin *caliga*, of which Caligula is the diminutive (Tac. *Ann.* i. 41); גס, instead of the more usual גים, גיים, Γάιος, is probably a malicious witticism (גס, 'big, arrogant, braggart,' cf. the Syriac popular etymology ܟܠܓܘܠܐ, as if *καλή*+gula).<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Matthew 23:35 f. The Blood of Zacharias.

"Ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐκχυννομενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ζαχαρίου υἱοῦ Βαραχίου, ὃν ἐφονεύσατε μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Cf. Luke 11:51.

It is recognized on all hands that the words "the son of Barachias" (in Matthew; not in Luke) are an error arising from a confusion with the canonical prophet Zechariah, the son of Berechiah,

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<sup>1</sup> גסקלגס, *Tos. Sotah* 13, 6; *Jer. Sotah* 9, 13; *Bab. Sotah* 38<sup>a</sup>; *Seder Olam Rabbah* 30, cf. *Yalkut*, Daniel § 1061; *Seder Olam Zutta*, ed. Neubauer, p. 71; *Megillath Taanith*, 11; *Shir ha-Shirim R.* on 8:9. The variants גסגלגס, גסקלקס, are secondary.

The passages in *Sotah*, etc., bring Caligula into connection with Simon the Just, who hears an oracular voice (*bath kōl*) announcing that גסקלגס has been killed and his decrees annulled. The surmise might be hazarded that this anachronism originated in a confusion with Simon Kantheras, son of Boethos, whom Agrippa I appointed High Priest shortly after the death of Caligula (probably in 41 A.D.; see Fl. Jos., *Antt.* xix, § 297). In *Seder Olam Rabbah*, however, גסקלגס figures as the last of the eight kings of Javan, following two Antiochi, as though he were identified with Epiphanes; see also *Seder Olam Zutta* l. c. The resemblance between Caligula's purpose to set up his image in the Temple and the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus IV may be responsible for this confusion.

the son of Iddo (Zech. 1 : 1);<sup>1</sup> the name of Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah (Is. 8 : 2, LXX. Ζαχαρίας υἱὸς Βαπερχίου) may have been a contributory cause.<sup>2</sup> Most scholars are further of the opinion that the reference is to the murder of the priest Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, who was stoned in the court of the temple by order of King Joash (2 Chron. 24 : 19 ff.).<sup>3</sup> Others think that the

<sup>1</sup> A similar confusion exists in *Targ. Lament.* 2 : 20 (on the words, "Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord") : "As ye slew Zechariah the son of Iddo, the High Priest and faithful prophet, in the sanctuary of the Lord on the Day of Atonement, because he reproved you, that ye should not do evil before the Lord." The last words plainly refer to 2 Chron. 24 : 20 ; cf *Targ. Chron. loc.* The prophet Zechariah is called "the son of Iddo" in Ezra 5 : 1 ; 6 : 14 ; cf. Neh. 12 : 4, 16. In *Gittin* 57<sup>b</sup> נביא הוה בן דהוה is not another variation of the name but a scribal error ; the correct reading is found in *Elkah Rabbah* 2 : 5, נביא הוה לן דהוה וגו' ; cf. ib. Proem. 23 נביא הוה דהוה מוכח לן.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Pesikta*, ed. Buber, f. 122a : "They murdered Uriah the priest ; they murdered Zechariah." There is nothing in Jer. 26 : 20-23 to suggest that the Uriah whose murder is there narrated was a priest ; "Uriah the priest" comes from Is. 8 : 2. That Uriah the prophet (Jer. 26) was of priestly stock, though with a blemish in his pedigree, is affirmed also by Samuel b. Nahmani, *Pesikta*, 115b.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek patristic interpreters, in whose Bibles the victim of Joash's resentment was called Ἀζαρίας, were uncertain whether the Zacharias of Matthew and Luke was the post-exilic prophet of that name or the father of John the Baptist (Luke 1 : 5 ff.). Of the father of John there were Christian legends, doubtless invented after the identification, that he was put to death by Herod because he would not surrender the child John, whom Herod imagined to be the future Messiah (*Protevangel. Jacobi*, 23) ; or that he was killed by the Jews because, as High Priest, he allowed Mary, after the birth of Jesus, to stand in the place in the temple assigned to the virgins (Origen on Matt. 23 : 35, Migne XIII. 1630 f. ; Theophylact *in loc.*, Migne CXXIII. 405 ; Euthymius Zigabenus *in loc.*, Migne CXXIX. 600). Jerome records the opinion of some that the Zechariah of our text was the father of John the Baptist : ex quibusdam apocryphorum somniis approbantes, quod propterea occisus est, quia Salvatoris praeedicavit adventum. He decides in favor of the Zechariah of Chronicles, and notes that the Gospel in use among the sect of the Nazarenes actually read "Zechariah the son of Jehoiada," instead of "son of Berechiah" as in the canonical Matthew. In the Lives of the Prophets which go under the name of Epiphanius some recensions fuse all three Zechariahs in a composite figure. (See the texts in Petavius' ed. of Epiphanius ; Tischendorf's *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*, 1855 (both reprinted in Migne, XLIII.) ; I. H. Hall, *Journal of*

author of the Gospel had in mind the murder of Zechariah the son of Baruch (other MSS. Baruch, Bariskaïos; see Niese), who was killed by the Zealots in the year 67 or 68 A.D. (Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 5, 4).<sup>1</sup> This view has recently found an earnest advocate in Wellhausen (*Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*<sup>2</sup>, 370 n.; *Das Evangelium Matthæi*, 119 ff.). Wellhausen urges that Zechariah son of Jehoiada is very likely a figure invented by the Chronicler for a particular purpose, and, even if historical, an altogether obscure man, with whose story it could not be assumed that Jesus' hearers were familiar; Jesus himself may have known little about him, or, for that matter, about the Book of Chronicles at all. He was not killed "between the temple and the altar," but without, in the court of the temple. Finally, the decisive fact is that the Jews had killed many prophets and righteous men after his time, for example, in the reigns of Manasseh and Jehoiakim; his blood could not, therefore, be set over against that of Abel, the victim of the first murder, as the last blood of a righteous man shed in the land.<sup>2</sup>

Unquestionably the murder of Zechariah by the Zealots, on the very eve of the catastrophe of Jerusalem in which, according to the author of the Gospel, that generation expired in

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*Biblical Literature* for June, 1886, p. 29 ff., Dec. 1886, p. 97 ff., June 1887, p. 28 ff.; Nestle, *Marginalien and Materialien*, 1893; *Syrische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, Chrestomathia, etc.) Another legend about Zechariah's tomb is quoted by Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.*, I. 1142 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Grotius suggested that, beside the historical reference to Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, Jesus prophetically pointed to the fate of this Zechariah the son of Baruch. Calmet (1722), who inclines to the opinion that Jesus refers to the latter, cites as predecessors in this identification "many learned commentators," as Grotius, Hammoud, L. de Dieu, Constant. l'Empereur, Jansen. Among later authors, I find the same view attributed to J. A. Osiander (1744), Hug, Credner; Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Gfrörer, Baur, Keim (see Fritzche and Meyer on Matt., and Winer).

<sup>2</sup> The explanation with which some commentators still satisfy themselves, viz. that the murder of Zechariah son of Jehoiada is narrated in the last book of the Old Testament, assumes that the author of the Gospel had a Hebrew Bible made up like a Leipzig stereotyped edition. So long as the books of the Hagiographa were copied in separate rolls, their order was a theory of no practical consequence. In this case the theory itself is not constant, Chronicles being sometimes the first, sometimes the last book in the list.

blood its own sins and those of its forefathers, is a very appropriate counterpart to that of Abel. Zechariah was, according to Josephus, an eminent and upright citizen whose hatred of wrong-doing and spirit of independence provoked the wrath of the Zealots, while his wealth aroused their cupidity; he was put to death "in the midst of the Temple," with circumstances of atrocity which were too much even for their Idumæan associates; and, to judge from the prominence the historian gives to the episode, the crime made a deep and lasting impression. The name of Zechariah's father as we find it in the manuscripts (Βάρις, Βαρύχος, Βαρύκαλος) may be explained as a corruption of Βαραχίας. The anachronism would be far from solitary in these chapters of the Gospel, and is not a sufficient reason for rejecting the identification.

Notwithstanding all this, however, it seems highly probable that the words of Matt. 23:35 refer to Zechariah the son of Jehoiada. Whether or not he was in reality an obscure or a wholly imaginary figure, it is certain that his death and its bloody expiation were the subject of a legend whose popularity is attested by the frequency with which it is repeated in Jewish sources; in this literature it is, in fact, the typical murder of a prophet.

Lightfoot, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* on the passage, quoted *Jer. Tuanith* 69<sup>a-b</sup>, *Bab. Sanhedrin* 96<sup>b</sup>, and gave a Latin translation of the story in which these two sources are—without further indication—combined.<sup>1</sup> The older form of the legend, in *Jer. Tuanith* iv. 5 (ed. Zhitomir f. 21<sup>b</sup>-22<sup>a</sup>) is as follows:

R. Johanna said: Eighty thousand of the flower of the priesthood were slain on account of the blood of Zechariah.—R. Judan asked R. Aha, Where did they kill Zechariah? In the Court of the Women or in the Court of Israel? He answered, Neither in the Court of the Women nor in the Court of Israel, but in the Court of the Priests; and they did not treat his blood like the blood of a deer or an antelope. Of these it is written, "He shall pour out its blood and cover it with earth" (Lev. 17:13), but of this, "For the blood that she shed abode in the midst of her, on the bare rock she put it, [she did not pour it

<sup>1</sup> A similar contamination is found in several places in later Midrashim.

out upon the ground nor cover earth over it" (Ezek. 24:7)]. Why? "To rouse fury, to inflict vengeance, I have put the blood that she shed on the bare rock, that it should not be covered" (Ezek. 24:8). Israel committed seven sins on that day: they killed a priest and a prophet and a judge, and shed innocent blood, and defiled the court, and it was a sabbath and the day of atonement.<sup>1</sup> When Nebuzaradan came up thither, he saw the blood welling up and asked them, "What kind of blood is this?" They replied, "The blood of bulls and lambs and rams that we used to offer upon the altar." Thereupon he brought bulls and rams and lambs and slaughtered them over it [i. e. Zechariah's blood], but it continued to well up. As they did not confess to him the truth, he strung them up in the place of judgment.<sup>2</sup> They said, "Inasmuch as the Holy One, Blessed be He! is pleased to require his blood at our hands, [we will tell thee]."<sup>3</sup> They said to him, "This is the blood of a priest and prophet and judge, who prophesied against us all that thou art doing to us, and we rose up against him and killed him." Thereupon he brought eighty thousand of the flower of the priesthood and slew them over it, but it continued to well up. Then he reprovèd it, saying, "Dost thou demand that thy whole people be destroyed on thine account?" Thereupon the Holy One, Blessed be He! was filled with compassion, and said, "If he, flesh and blood, and a cruel man, is filled with compassion for my children, how much more I, of whom it is written, For a merciful God is Yhwè thy God, he will not fail thee, nor destroy thee, nor forget the covenant with thy fathers." Forthwith he signalled to the blood, and it was swallowed up on the spot.

The same version, with slight variations in a somewhat inferior text, is found in the *Pesikta, Ekaḥ* (ed. Buber 122 a-b; quoted also in *Yalkut*, Ezek. § 364), in a midrash on Is. 1: 21, 'Righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers.' . . . They killed Uriah the priest;<sup>4</sup> they killed Zechariah.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other recensions include "and profaned the Name."

<sup>2</sup> תלו תליין לגרדון. Cf. *Pesikta*, ed. Buber, 118<sup>b</sup>, 122<sup>a</sup>, and the editor's notes on these places; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II. 183. In exemplification of this sense see especially *Sabb.* 32<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The close of the sentence is supplied from *Kohēleth Rabbah* 3: 20.

<sup>4</sup> See above, page 318, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> The story is repeated in *Ekaḥ Rabbathi*, Proem. 23; *ib.* 2, 5; 4, 17; cf. also Proem. 5; *Kohēleth Rabbah* 3, 20; 10, 5; *Sanhedrin* 96<sup>b</sup>; *Gittin* 57<sup>b</sup>. The later versions amplify somewhat, and multiply Nebuzaradan's



The books in which this legend is narrated are, of course, much later than the New Testament; and the rabbis whose names are connected with it (Judan and Aha) lived in the 4th cent. A.D. No inference lies, however, from these dates to the age of the legend itself; it is quite possible that the story, which is substantially a midrash on 2 Chron. 24:19-25, showing how the dying prayer of the murdered prophet, "Yahwè see and require it!" (2 Chron. 24:23) was fulfilled, is older than the Christian era.

Comparison with the Gospels shows at least striking coincidences. In Chronicles we are told only that Zechariah was killed "in the court of the Lord's house." "In which court?" R. Judan asks, and R. Aha replies, "In the court of the priests"; the Gospels make the same court, "between the temple and the altar," the scene of the sacrilegious murder.<sup>1</sup> The legend of the murder of Zechariah, moreover, furnishes exactly the counterpart to the story of Abel which the Gospel demands: Abel's blood cries unto God from the ground (Gen. 4:10 f., cf. 9:6, etc.); Zechariah's last words are, "Yahwè, see and require it" (2 Chron. 24:22); in the legend, his blood, lying uncovered on the bare rock, arouses God's wrath and incites him to vengeance; it wells up and cannot be stayed. The Jews, confronted with death at Nebuzaradan's hands, recognize that God is resolved to require it

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victims—the Great Sanhedrin and the Smaller Sanhedrin, young men and maidens, the students of the schools; conversion of Nebuzaradan. References to the story are found also in *Tanhuma*, Buber, *Wayyikra* § 8; *Targ. Lament.* 2:20.

Jerome writes: *simpliciores fratres inter ruinas templi et altaris, sive in portarum exitibus, quae Siloam ducunt, rubra saxa monstrantes, Zachariae sanguine putant esse polluta. Non condemnamus errorem, qui de odio Judaeorum, et fidei pietate descendit. This is possibly a last echo of the Jewish legend, rather than merely a reminiscence of the Gospel.*

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen's objection, that Zechariah b. Jehoiada was killed "without, in the court of the temple," begs the question by assuming that the court is here the outer court. The rabbis assumed more naturally that the murder of the priest took place in the inner court. On the other hand, Josephus' ἐν μέσῳ τῶ ἱερῷ, does not warrant Wellhausen's inference that Zechariah was killed by the Zealots in the priests' court; it says no more than that the murder was committed within the sacred precincts. As a layman Zechariah would have no business at least in the part of the court between the temple and the altar. The story of the mock trial in Josephus suggests rather the neighborhood of one of the court rooms opening off the outer court.

of them (cf. Luke 11 : 50). Thousands of victims are not sufficient to expiate the seven-fold crime. Note also the correspondence of the situation, the judgment of God on Jerusalem by the hand of the Babylonians and of the Romans. It is noteworthy, too, that the epithet "righteous" is more than once in different versions of the story applied to Zechariah (see *Koheleth Rabbah* 3, 20, זכריה הצדיק, *ib.* 10, 5).

It is not, then, because the death of Zechariah was the last crime of the kind in Jewish history that it is named in the Gospel, but because it was in popular legend the typical example of the sacrilegious murder of a righteous man, a prophet of God, and of the appalling expiation God exacted for it.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the name, it may reasonably be supposed that the original tradition had only "the blood of Zechariah," as in Luke; he appears in the Jewish story regularly without a patronymic, as a well known figure. "Son of Barachias" in Matthew would then be the erroneous gloss of an editor better versed in scripture than in the Midrash; "son of Jehoiada" in the Nazarene Gospel a more correct identification.

### 3. Matthew 28 : 1.

Ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθεν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον.

This verse seems always to have made some difficulty.<sup>2</sup> The older commentators interpreted it in harmony with the other Gospels (Mark 16 : 1, 2, καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμῃ ἡγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι

<sup>1</sup> Since this note was written I observe that Nestle, in *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VI (1905) 198-200, has criticized Wellhausen's comment on this passage in a somewhat similar way. Incidentally I may note that ἐκζητηθῆν (Luke 11 : 51) probably represents neither בקש (Baljon) nor ידרש (Nestle, from Chronicles). but בעי or תבע; cf. *Jer. Taanith* הואיל והקב"ה רוצה לתבע דמו מדינו וגו'.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome suspects inexact translation: Mihique videtur Evangelista Matthaeus, qui Evangelium Hebraico sermone conscripsit, non tam vespere dixisse quam sero, et eum qui interpretatus est, verbi ambiguitate deceptus, non sero interpretatum esse sed vespere. *Ep.* 120, 4; *ad Hedibiam* (Vallarsi, I. 820). Jerome probably had in mind the expressions באפוקי שבתא, במוצאי שבת; see below.

ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ λίαν πρὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατίλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. Luke 24 : 1, Καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον ἡσυχασαν κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν, τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθείως ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα ἦλθαν φέρονσαι αὐτὸς ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα. Cf. also John 20 : 1, πρὶ σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης), and contented themselves with adducing passages in Greek writers where ὀψὲ seemed to be used in the sense of 'after.' Recent scholars have generally denied this use, and taken σαββάτων as a partitive genitive, 'late on the Sabbath.' Meyer tries to harmonize this with the other gospels by asserting, without any evidence, that Saturday night was in 'civil reckoning' included in the Sabbath. Schmiedel, on the contrary (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, IV. col. 4041 f., cf. 4072), discovers a discrepancy of about half a day between Matthew and the other Gospels. His words are : "Late on the Sabbath (ὀψὲ σαββάτων) means unquestionably, according to the Jewish division of the day, the time about sunset, and the words immediately following—τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, 'as the light shone forth towards the first day of the week,' are elucidated by Luke 23 : 54, where the transition from the Jewish Friday to Saturday (Sabbath)—in other words the time of sunset—is indicated by the expression σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν, 'the Sabbath shone forth.' " Schmiedel then propounds an ingenious hypothesis to explain how the author of Matthew came so egregiously to misunderstand Mark. The supposed discrepancy arises, however, solely from the critic's misunderstanding of Matthew.

The phrases in Matt. 28 : 1 are a literal reproduction, in Greek words, of Jewish idiomatic terms for divisions of time, and to understand them we must go back to the language of the Palestinian tradition of the Gospel. John Lightfoot, in a brief note on the verse, rightly connected ὀψὲ σαββάτων with the Hebrew **בְּמוֹצַי שַׁבָּת**, Aramaic **בְּאַפְוִקִי שַׁבְתָּא**, the ordinary expressions for the time following the close of the Sabbath at sunset on Saturday; and added that ὀψέ, as the equivalent of these expressions, included the whole of Saturday night. The phrase **בְּמוֹצַי שַׁבָּת** is of very common occurrence; it may suffice here to cite *Berakoth* 29<sup>a</sup>, 52<sup>a</sup>; *Shabbath* 119<sup>b</sup>, 154<sup>b</sup>; *Pesahim* 105<sup>a</sup>, 105<sup>b</sup>; *Rosh ha-Shanah* 23<sup>a</sup>; *Jer. Berakoth* 4, 1; *Jer. Taanith* 4, 1; *Bereshith Rabba* 10, 8f.; 11, 1. 2; 12, 6; **בְּמוֹצַי שַׁבְתָּא** *Pesahim* 113<sup>a</sup>; *Shebuoth* 18<sup>b</sup>; cf. **מוֹצַי יוֹם טוֹב**, *Berakoth* 29<sup>a</sup>. It always denotes a time after the end of the Sabbath, some-

times immediately after, e. g. in connection with the *habdalah*; sometimes it signifies Saturday night in general; and there are instances in which it refers to the whole of Sunday.<sup>1</sup> Thus in *Jer. Shekalim* 4, 1 we read: "Rabbi Eleazar, son of Rabbi Zadok, said: We belonged to the descendants of Senaah, of Benjamin; when the ninth of Ab happened to fall on a Sabbath we postponed the fast to the following day (למוצאי שבת, i.e. Sunday) and fasted on it, but not the whole day." The same tradition is reported in *Taanith* 12<sup>a</sup> as follows: "Rabbi Eleazar, son of Rabbi Zadok, said: I am of the descendants of Senaah [i. Senaah], of Benjamin; and once when the ninth of Ab fell on a Sabbath we postponed the fast to the following day (לאחר השבת, cf. *Megillah* 5<sup>b</sup>) and fasted on it, but not the whole day; for it was a festival of ours." According to *M. Taanith* 4, 5, the tenth of Ab was the day on which the Benjamite family of Senaah had the right to bring a free-will offering of wood for the temple (see also *Tos. Taanith* 4, 5 ff.)<sup>2</sup>. It is to be observed that למוצאי שבת in *Jer. Shekalim* 4, 1, is equivalent to לאחר השבת in *Tos. Taanith* 4, 6, *Taanith* 12<sup>a</sup>. The phrase corresponds to the common מוצאי שביעית, the year after the Sabbatical year, the first year of the year-week (*M. Shebi'ith* 1, 5; 3, 8; 4, 2; 5, 6; 6, 4, etc.; *Jer. Demai*, 2, 1; *Jer. Shebi'ith* 6, 3; *Rosh ha-Shanah* 9<sup>a</sup>, etc.); see especially *Jer. Sanhedrin* 1, 2, *Tos. Sanhedrin* 2, 9, *Sanhedrin* 12<sup>a</sup>, *Shekalim* 3<sup>a</sup>: an intercalary month must not be added either to the Sabbatical year or the year after (מוצאי שביעית). The counterpart of מוצאי שבת

<sup>1</sup> The facts are succinctly and correctly stated in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. s. v. Calendar (III. 502 A); Dalman (*Grammatik*, 197 n.) is mistaken in saying of the expressions באפוקי ש', במפקי שובתא, etc. "vom Morgengrauen ab ist die Bezeichnung unmöglich."

<sup>2</sup> R. Eleazar b. R. Zadok was a grown man when the temple was destroyed in 70 A.D.; see Weiss, *Dor we-Dor*<sup>4</sup>, II. 109; Bacher, *Tannaiten*<sup>2</sup>, I. 46 ff. This family of Senaah (סנאה, *Ezr.* 2: 35; *Neh.* 3: 3; 7: 38; 3 *Esd.* 5: 23) has been summarily despatched out of the world by Eduard Meyer (*Entstehung des Judentums*, 150, 154, 156) and Cheyne (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, II. col. 1971 f.), by what are called text-critical operations. Neither of the critics refers to the fact that in the first century after Christ there was a family or clan of this name having certain ancient privileges in the temple not suggested by anything in the Old Testament, and about the origin of which there is an independent tradition (see *Tos. Taanith*, l.c.).

is **ערב שבת** (lit. eve of Sabbath), Friday—not merely the afternoon, but the whole day, beginning at Thursday sunset; similarly **ערב שביעית**; **ערב סכות**; **ערב פסח**, the year preceding the Sabbatical year, the sixth of the year-week.

The Aramaic equivalent of **במוצאי שבת** is **באפוקי שבתא**, **באפוקי שובתא**; **בפוקי ש'**; it is especially frequent in the Palestinian dialect; see for example, *Jer. Pesahim* 4, 1 = *Jer. Taanith* 1, 6; *Jer. Abodah Zarah* 5, 4; *Rosh ha-Shanah* 22<sup>b</sup>, etc. For the meaning Saturday night, see the story in *Bereshith Rabbah* 63, 12, with the parallel *Jer. Terumoth* 8, end: the Rabbis of Tiberias were miraculously transported, after the close of the Sabbath (**באפוקי שבתא בתר סידרא**, after the Synagogue service of Sunday eve) to Paneas, and at dawn were standing at the gate of the city. Here again there are cases where the phrase includes Sunday; see especially *Jer. Pesahim* 4, 1 = *Jer. Taanith* 1, 6, where the abstention of women from work **באפוקי שובתא** (Sunday) is parallel to the abstention on Monday, Thursday, Friday, discussed in the sequel. Compare also **אפוקי שמיטתא**, the year following the Sabbatical year (=Heb. **מוצאי שביעית**), *Jer. Peah* 7, 3; *Jer. Baba Bathra*, 9, 5; **אפוקי ריש שתא**, the day after New Year's, *Jer. Peah*, 7, 3. A synonymous expression is **במפקי שובתא**, *Jer. Terumah* 8, 4; cf. **מפקה דשתא**, after the end of the year, *Trg. Onkelos* Ex. 34:22, *Trg. Jer.*, *ib.* For Friday the usual Aramaic name is **ערובתא**; an expression formally corresponding to **אפוקי שבתא**, 'the going out of the Sabbath,' is **מעלי שבתא**, 'the coming in of the Sabbath'; see *Gittin* 77<sup>a</sup> (in a list of names of days of the week); *Shabbath* 119<sup>b</sup>; *Baba Mezi'a* 49<sup>a</sup> **אפניא כל רמעלי שבתא** 'in the afternoon of Friday'; *Taanith* 20<sup>b</sup> **מעלי יומא**, 'every Friday afternoon'; cf. **דכיפורי** *Kethuboth* 62<sup>b</sup>; **במיעלי יומא דפסחא** *Trg. Jer. Gen.* 14:13; **במעלי שבתא** *Trg. Jer. Num.* 22:28; note also **עירלי שבתא** *Berakoth* 52<sup>a</sup> = *Pesahim* 105<sup>b</sup>.

The phrase *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων*, also, is to be explained by Jewish idiom. To designate the night between two days the Babylonian Talmud frequently employs **ננהי**. Thus, for example, in *Berakoth* 4<sup>a</sup>, the middle of the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of Nisan (Ex. 11:4), **בפלגא אורתא**

<sup>1</sup> For examples see Dalman, *Grammatik*<sup>1</sup>, 196 ff.

באורתא דתליסר דנגהי; cf. *Pesahim* 4<sup>a</sup> דתליסר נגהי ארנסר, in the night of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>, etc. The same expression in *Menaḥoth* 68<sup>b</sup>, באורתא דשיתסר נגהי שנסר, the night of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>, באורתא דשנסר נגהי תמניסר, 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>. In the beginning of *Pesahim* (2a-3a) there is a discussion about the word נגהי, which literally would seem to mean daylight (נגה, shine); it is finally agreed that it does not indicate a different time from לילי, night; it may be explained as a dialect peculiarity or a euphemistic expression.<sup>1</sup> We may let the explanation go for what it is worth; the fact remains that נגהי, notwithstanding its original meaning, is used of the night, or part of the night. It is not, however, like אורתא, comparison with which immediately suggests itself, a name for 'night' in general uses, but occurs only in such phrases as have been quoted above. It may be conjectured that the development of this signification was similar to that of ערב followed by the name of a day; as the latter, from meaning the eve of, say, the Sabbath, came to mean the whole day (Friday) whose evening would usher in the Sabbath, so נגהי came to mean the night whose morning would bring in the following day. The examples of this use of נגהי, it will have been observed, are drawn from the Babylonian Talmud, but a similar idiom is well known in Syriac, e. g., ܢܓܗܝ ܠܝܠܝܬܐ, Aphr., etc.; see Payne Smith 2281; the Palestinian Lectionary naturally renders τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ܢܓܗܝ ܠܝܠܝܬܐ.<sup>2</sup>

The Hebrew equivalent of נגהי in this use is אור. Thus in *Jer. Kethuboth* 1, 1 (*Kethuboth* 5<sup>b</sup>, *Bereshith Rabbah* 8, 12), a Biblical reason for choosing Wednesday for the wedding of virgins, Thursday for widows, is found in the blessings in Gen. 1:22, 28. The objection that these blessings belong not to Wednesday and Thursday, but to Thursday and Friday respectively, is answered by observing that the consummation of the

<sup>1</sup> See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, III. s. v. The idiom survives in mediæval commentators, e. g. Rashi on *Rosh ha-Shanah* 22<sup>b</sup> (end), "לערב יום ל' נגהי לא" "on the evening of the 30<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup>."

<sup>2</sup> Similar extensions are familiar in modern languages. In German, 'Sonabend,' for example, has become the name of Saturday, and if we really mean the evening of Saturday (Sunday eve) we say 'Sonabend Abend' (cf. Aram. רמשא דערוכתא, etc.). So 'Morgen' is 'tomorrow,' and for 'tomorrow morning' we say 'Morgen früh.'

marriage occurs in the night following the wedding, רביעי אור לחמשי, the night Wednesday-Thursday, and Thursday-Friday, respectively.

On אור in this sense see also *M. Pesahim* 1:1, אור לארבעה, עשר, the night preceding the 14<sup>th</sup> (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>), *Pesahim* 3<sup>a</sup> אור לשמנים ואחר, the night between the 80<sup>th</sup> and the 81<sup>st</sup>; *Rosh ha-Shanah* 22<sup>b</sup>, with Rashi *in loc.*; but in *Sanhedrin* 70<sup>b</sup> אור לעיבור seems to be the night following the 30<sup>th</sup>; Rashi מוצאי שלושים. (Exx. cited by Levy, s. v.)<sup>1</sup>

If we suppose that the author of our Greek Matthew had as his source an account of the resurrection in Hebrew which ran: באפוקי שבתא, or in Aramaic, כמוצאי שבת אור לאחד בשבת, נגהי חר בשבתא, and rendered it literally, the words ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, become quite intelligible, and are in agreement with the tradition of the other Gospels that the women went to the tomb by night (λίαν πρωί, ὀρθρου θυθείας, πρωί, σκοτίας ἐτι οὔσης). The only difficulty which then remains is Mark's ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. It is possible that this may have originated in the desire to make clearer, or to put into better Greek, such an expression as the τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ which we have in Matthew; but this question does not further concern us here.<sup>2</sup>

Luke 23:54, Καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν, is another example of the same idiom which we have recognized in Matt. 28:1. Lightfoot, who collected several examples of אור, אורתא, in the sense of 'night,' renders, *ingruebat nōx Sabbati*. Perhaps the sense is rather, "and the next day was the Sabbath," cf. Mark 15:42, Καὶ ἤδη ὁψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶν προσάββατον. We may conceive that the original of Luke's altogether un-Greek phrase was something like, ויהוה יומא;

<sup>1</sup> [I find that A. Geiger, in a review of Sachs' *Beiträge* (ZDMG. XII. 365; see also *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, VIII. 182, IX. 116) explains the use of אור and נגהי for 'night' in a way similar to that suggested above. He also regards ἐπέφωσκεν in Matt. 28:1 as a translation of אור or נגהי, "hinüberleuchten in den folgenden Tag, die dem Tage vorangehende Nacht."—For other theories see Mayer Lambert, *RÉJ.* XLIV. 122 f.; W. Bacher, *ib.* 286. The most recent discussion, with full references to the literature, is by Aicher, "אור, im Sinne von Dunkelheit," *Biblische Zeitschrift*, III (1905), 113-121.]

<sup>2</sup> The reading ἀνατέλλοντος (D, some Old Latin codd., Aug., al.) may be an attempt to diminish the discrepancy.

וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת אִוֵּר לַשַּׁבָּת (Heb. דַּעְרוֹכְנֵתָא נִגְהִי שַׁבָּת); at least ἐπέφωσκεν must be accounted for in this way. A reference to the lighting of the Sabbath lamps on Friday evening is altogether fanciful; no one would say in that case "the Sabbath lighted up," but "they (people) kindled (הרליקו) the lamps."

Before leaving the subject, I should call attention to the singular expression in Matt. 27:62, τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν. Is "Sabbath" intentionally avoided here, by the circumlocution "the day after Friday?"

#### 4. 2 Corinthians 2:14-16. The Saviour of Life or of Death.

Ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, οἷς μὲν ὁσμὴ ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, οἷς δὲ ὁσμὴ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν.

Buxtorf, Cappel, Schoettgen, and other older writers pointed out the resemblance of the expressions ὁσμὴ ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωήν, to the Hebrew סם חיים, סם מות, deadly poison, life-giving medicine. The parallel is made the more noteworthy by the fact that in Jewish literature this figure is frequently employed to set forth the contrary effects of the Law rightly or wrongly used. Thus in *Sifre*, Deut. § 45 (on Deut. 11:18, וְשַׁמַּתָּ וּנְיָ) we read: נִמְשְׁלוּ דְבָרֵי תוֹרָה בְּסָם חַיִּים, "The words of the Law are compared to an elixir of life"; similarly the Baraitha, *Ḥiddushin* 30<sup>b</sup>; cf. *Erubin* 54<sup>a</sup>: R. Judah b. R. Hiyya said: "See how different God is from man! A man gives a drug (סם) to his fellow; it is good for this and bad for that. God is not so; he gave the Law to Israel, a life-giving medicine for its whole body, as the scripture says, 'And healing to all their flesh'" (Prov. 4:22), etc. So also in the story of the hawker who went about the towns adjacent to Sepphoris crying, Who wants to buy a life-giving medicine (סם חיים)? and when questioned by R. Jannai told him that he would find the prescription in Ps. 34:12-14 (*Wayyikra Rabbah* 16, 2). *Sifre*, Deut. § 306 (on Deut. 32:2): "R. Banaah was wont to say, If thou doest the commandments of the law for their own sake [disinterested obedience], they are life to thee, as it is written, 'For they are life to those that find them, healing to all their flesh' (Prov. 4:22); but if thou dost not do the commandments of the law for



their own sake they cause thy death, as it is written," etc. (Deut. 32 : 2, **יִעַרְךָ**, interpreted 'break one's neck,' as in Deut. 21 : 4). In *Taanith* 7<sup>a</sup> this saying of R. Banaah is reported in a slightly different form: "If a man occupies himself with the study of the law for its own sake, his knowledge of the law is made to him a life-giving medicine (**סם חיים**; Prov. 3 : 8, 18 and 8 : 35); if he does so not for their own sake [but for his own advantage], it is made to him a deadly poison" (**סם מות**; Deut. 32 : 2, etc. as in *Sifre*). In *Yoma* 72<sup>b</sup> R. Joshua b. Levi asks, "What is the meaning of the text, This is the law which Moses set (**שם**) before the Israelites? If a man is good (**זכה**) it is made to him a life-giving medicine (**סם חיים**), if he is not good it is made to him a deadly poison (**סם מות**)." A similar utterance of Rabba is recorded in *Yoma* l. c., If a man is expert in it, etc.; cf. the parallel, *Sabbath* 88b., If he is dexterous, etc. (See Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, II. 540.) The saying seems to have had almost proverbial currency at the beginning of the second century A.D.

The word **δσμη** in Paul is not so remote as might at first appear; **סמים** is used in the Old Testament of the odoriferous drugs—gums and spices—of which the compound incense was made. In the Septuagint the phrase **קטרת סמים** ('incense of drugs') is usually rendered by *θυμίαμα σύνθετον*, etc., but we find also *ἀρώματα*, *ἡδύσματα*; the latter is generally preferred by the later Greek translators. *Bereshith Rabbah* 10, 6 (ed. Theodor, p. 78 f.) quotes from Bar Sira, **אלוה העלה סמים מן הארץ בהם הרופא מרפא המכה ורוקח עושה המרקחת**. In Greek (Ecclus. 38 : 4, 7, 8: *Κύριος ἔκτισεν ἐκ γῆς φάρμακα . . ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐθεράπευσεν καὶ ἤρεν τὸν πόνον αὐτοῦ, μυρεψὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ποιήσει μίγμα*). Thus **סמים** are 'drugs,' *φάρμακα*, used, as the case may be, by the physician or the perfumer. Modern etymologists may derive **סמים**, 'odorifera' (Assyr. *sammāti*, see Gesenius-Buhl), from a different root; but ultimate etymologies were not in the consciousness of those who used the language. Many of the drugs, medicinal and poisonous, employed in ancient practice had a strong smell; fragrant gums and the like were used as remedies. It is quite possible, therefore, as Cappel seems to have been the first to point out, that the singular expression, 'an odor of life,' or of death, is a more or less indistinct reminiscence of Hebrew phrases such as have been cited above, and of the application of them to describe the effect of the law rightly received and obeyed, or the opposite.

## 5. Jubilees 34:4, 7. Zarethān-Šarṭabeh.

In the story of the war of Jacob and his sons with the Amorites, Jub. 34:1-9, one of the cities whose kings were confederated against the patriarchs is Šarēgān (variously written in Charles' manuscripts, Šērāgān, Šarāgān, Šārēkān, Šērēgān, Šērāgen; Lat. Saragan). Charles (*Book of Jubilees*, p. 202) tabulates the varying forms of the names of the kings in different sources; on Šērāgān (v. 4) he writes: "In the Hebrew authorities the word appears as Sartan. I can discover nothing further about it." A comparison of the sources will solve the problem, and at the same time perhaps throw some light on a disputed point of Old Testament topography. The corresponding passage in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Judah, 5) has ἀπήλθομεν εἰς Αρεταν,<sup>2</sup> Lat. *Aretan*; in the Midrash the name appears as סרְטָן. It is obvious that in the Testaments we should emend εἰς <Σ>αρεταν, and that the Ethiopic Šarēgān arises from the blunder of a Greek scribe, ΣΑΡΕΤΑΝ for ΣΑΡΕΤΑΝ. The place is the Old Testament Šarethan (צָרְתָן; Σαρθαν codd. in 1 Kings 4:12; 7:46; Euseb., *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde 296<sub>02</sub> Σαρθαν, ὑπὸ κάρω Ιεζραελ; Jerome, *ib.* 153<sub>24</sub> Sarthan, quae est ad radices Iezrahelis. This comes direct from 1 Kings 4:12, not from Eusebius' knowledge of the site).

Van de Velde proposed to identify the site of Šarethan with the modern Kārṇ Šarṭabeh. The position agrees well enough with the few indications in the Old Testament, according to which the place was included by Solomon in the same administrative district with Beth-shean, Jezreel, and Abel-meholah (1 Kings 4:12), and was on the west side of the Jordan valley, opposite Succoth (1 Kings 7:46), not far from Adam (Josh. 3:16), i. e. probably the modern crossing at Damieh.<sup>3</sup> It is rightly thought to be meant by Šeredah, 2 Chron. 4:17; 1 Kings 11:26; and Šererah, Jud. 7:22. Kārṇ Šarṭabeh, on a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the table made up by Bousset, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, I (1900), 202 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Variants Αρετα, P; ἐρέπαν O. The former an error in uncial script; the latter a false correction of the unknown name. In the Armenian version, Conybeare (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, VIII. 471 ff.) notes no variant. Issaverdens gives *Arista*, with one manuscript; four others collated in the Venice edition have *Arita*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XIII (1894), 77 ff.; cf. Stade-Schwally, *Kings* (Polychrome Bible), on 4:12 and 7:46.

promontory of mountain thrust out into the Jordan valley opposite el-Damieh, is therefore at least in the neighborhood in which Şarethan is to be looked for. Van de Velde's suggestion has not met much favor, chiefly on account of the dissimilarity of the names.<sup>1</sup>

In the various narratives of the war of the patriarchs with the Amorite kings, Saretan is named in conjunction with Tappuah, Hazor,<sup>2</sup> Shiloh, and Gaash, all places in the same region in which we gather from the Old Testament that Şarethan lay, and within a comparatively short distance from Kārn Şartābeh. Now, it is noteworthy that in the Testament of Judah, 5, and in all the Hebrew stories, the strength of Sartan and its citadel and the inaccessibility of its site are dwelt upon as though in this respect it was singular among the cities which the patriarchs stormed. In reading them we can readily imagine that the authors had Kārn Şartābeh in mind. Compare, for example, the description in the *Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, II. 396: "The top of the mountain is a cone artificially shaped, like that of Jebel Fureidīs, and some 270 feet high. On all sides but the west this is practically unapproachable: on the west a trench has been cut, and the saddle thus made lower. The slope of the sides is about 35°. The top measures 90 feet from east to west and 258 feet north and south, being an oval." On this summit are the ruins of a citadel or castle; the town lay lower down, though still in a very strong position. The summit is 379 m. above the sea, and rises 679 m. above the Jordan valley.<sup>3</sup> In the Mishna, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 2, 4 (*Tosephta*, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 2, 2), where Sartābeh is named as one of the peaks on which the signal fires for the new moon were repeated, the name is written סרטבה. The modern Arabic name is صرطبة;

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. Dillmann on Josh. 3:16; Moore on Judges 7:22 (p. 213); Kittel, *Könige*, p. 34; Buhl, *Geographie*, 181; Selbie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Zarethān. Clermont-Ganneau is especially vehement in his rejection of the theory; see *Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, II. 398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Hazor is not the city of that name in Galilee, but Baal Hazor, modern Tell 'Aşur.

<sup>3</sup> See Guérin, *Samarie*, I. 243 ff.; *PEF. Memoirs*, II. 380 f., 396 f.—Dillmann's objection, that a city can hardly have stood on the peak, is irrelevant.

cf. **סלכד** **סלכד**, and see Kampfmeyer, ZDPV. XV. 69, XVI. 53. If the Talmudic and modern names are connected with the Old Testament **צרתן** (query **צרתן**\*) we should have an interesting example of a shift of emphatics, **צ-ת** of the older name becoming **ט-ס** in later Hebrew or Aramaic, and then, by an equalization in Arabic, **من-ط**. However that may be, **צרתן**, **סרטן**, and **סרטבא**, **صرطبة**, prove that the phonetic irregularity does not prohibit the identification of Sarethān with Kārn Sārtābēh, if the topographical evidence is sufficient.

#### 6. Jubilees 7:4.

In the description of Noah's sacrifice in this verse Charles translates: "And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on the altar," etc. Littmann, more exactly, "das Fleisch des Altars." It is curious that none of the editors or translators of the book seems to have hesitated at this nonsense. The goat is a sin-offering, preparatory to the holocaust; the blood belongs on the *horns* of the altar, not on the "flesh of the altar." The Ethiopic *šēgā* represents a transcriptional error in Greek, *κρέατα* for *κέρατα*, or a misreading by the translator to the same effect.

It may be observed also that **אֶחָד**, **אֶחָד**, in the Ethiopic version of the Old Testament renders *ἑριφος* not only when the Greek word stands for **אֶחָד** but where the Hebrew has **שְׁעִיר** (e. g. Gen. 37:31). Charles' translation "kid" is here misleading; no departure from the usual ritual of the sin offering is implied, in which the victim was a full-grown goat.

*The Japanese Book of the Ancient Sword.*—By ETHEL WATTS MUMFORD, New York City.

INTRODUCTION.

IN Nippon the sword is sacred. It is one of the three emblems of the Shinto faith. It is named "The Soul of the Samurai," and is the embodiment of aristocracy.

The blade symbolizes the narrow path of justice; the flat, square-ended handle—the "nakago"—that slips within the ornamental hilt, is wrought into the semblance of a grave tablet, in order that "he who dies while grasping it may be spared evil reincarnations." To the Japanese his sword is no mere bit of cleverly tempered metal, it is the work of gods; it is animated by spirit.

In olden days, during the months of May and September, selected for the finishing of swords, because of their stability of temperature, the forges became temples; before their doors swung the rope of hemp and the fluttering ribbons of the Gohei, announcing to the passer-by the presence of the Immortals.

For the ceremony of "The Signing of the Sword" the smith donned the robes of a priest, officiating as such in what was considered no less than miraculous birth, the new blade receiving its soul through his prayers.

Hence arose the legend of Muramasa. In after years it wrought such havoc that an imperial edict prohibited the bearing of his swords except in battle. The legend related of Muramasa is, that his formula of prayer craved "that his blades be the great destroyers." Because of the excellence of his work the gods granted the petition, sending a spirit of such surpassing ferocity that, upon entering the swords, it demanded blood, and, failing to receive its rightful sustenance within a limited time, drove the owners to murder or suicide. The belief obtained such hold, and so acted upon the unfortunate possessors of Muramasa weapons, that crime became epidemic.

Yoshimitsu, however, one of the earliest armorers of Japan and the one most famous, prayed in his forge-temple that his blades might be "the great defenders." The soul that dwells in Yoshi-

mitsu's steel is, therefore, peaceful unless its master be threatened. There is a legend that two blades, one a Muramasa, the other a Yoshimitsu, were placed in a rapidly flowing brook, a yard apart, upright, edges to the current. "It was seen," the story goes, "that leaves, twigs and all floating things were attracted toward the Muramasa, and were cut in twain. Before the Yoshimitsu, on the contrary, they turned aside, and were carried unharmed down the stream."

One of the Empress's most cherished treasures is a first Yoshimitsu dagger. Honnami, the most renowned of living connoisseurs, possesses a Yoshimitsu short sword. One or two other of his blades are known and authenticated, but as nearly a thousand years have passed since the gentle-hearted smith passed into Nirvāṇa, little is left of his work.

Study of the family records of the great sword makers will show what appears to be surprising persistence of genius. Four, five, six hundred years, and, as in the case of the house of Munechika, nine hundred years, of uninterrupted excellence of workmanship.

The explanation is simple. If the sons did not show sufficient talent to warrant inheritance of the father's holy charge, the chief apprentice was legally adopted. In an unbroken line of genius the glory of the family name was so upheld from age to age. Thus the worthless scion of a great house could never wreck the edifice of his father's fortunes, and though, doubtless, justice leaned where love inclined, the result of the system was to call forth the best efforts of all concerned. The unknown apprentice might hope for the greatest prize, and all the inherited tendencies of the master's children were called into play by every claim of ambition and jealous fear.

In the middle ages sword-making was the only profession that gave claim to ennoblement. The Emperors themselves were smiths, and sought honor as assistants to the great makers. It is not uncommon to find the imperial signature upon the rough, file-marked iron of the nakago. In one legend, the wood gods gave willing service at the anvil, while visions of the lovely Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy, were wont to float above the roaring fires.

Small wonder then, when the energies of gods and men were combined in the effort, that the sword of Japan has no superior.

The most authoritative treatise on sword judgment is "The Complete Manual of the Old Sword," by an unknown author, published in 1793, in Yeddo. Its carefully illustrated volumes give a clear and comprehensive *résumé* of the subject that has never been surpassed. In 19—, acting upon the advice of Honnami, and after a six months' search, I secured the book in Nagoya, an ancient stronghold of the Samurai, and through the kindness of Mr. Clay MacCauley, then President of the "College of Higher Learning" in Tokyo, had it translated into English by one of the advanced students of the college. In presenting this rendering it has been my endeavor to correct and recast only what seemed absolutely necessary in order to make clear many passages that would otherwise remain obscure and involved owing to the Japanese form of the translator's sentences, and his curious misconception of the exact meaning of many words.

I have endeavored to retain the individual quality of this product of Oriental science, its quaintness and reverence, permitting many faults of construction and even of grammar to remain in the text rather than interfere with an interesting and unconsciously enlightening point of view. The catalogues of the "Nakago" and the "Book of Genealogies" have been omitted, owing to the difficulty of reproducing upwards of three hundred necessary illustrations.

The names of eras herein given do not tally with the commonly accepted list as given by Murray. If this is the fault of the translator's difficulty in rendering Japanese sounds into English form, or whether it has a deeper significance connected with the division of time as concerns the epochs of sword-making, I do not know, but of the two hundred and eighty odd eras preceding the publication of the book, less than twenty bear any resemblance to Murray's list.

Of the status of the Honnami in 1793 the book leaves no doubt, and to-day the words could only be rewritten and underlined: the family still exercises the art of sword judgment and the head of the house is alone allowed the privilege of certifying the sword which successfully passes his rigorous examination, by inlaying the maker's name in gold or lacquer upon the nakago.

The elder Honnami holds the blue-book of weapons, the Gotha of blades. He lives unpretentiously in a suburb of

Tokyo, surrounded by his collection of priceless weapons—the inherited quintessence of sword lore. He is the judge from whose decision there is no appeal.

According to the generally accepted order of precedence, the greatest of ancient swordsmiths are: the first Yoshimitsu (13th century); Masamuné (14th century); Muramasa (14th century); Hisakune (13th century); Yoshihiro (14th century); Kuniyoshi (13th century); and Sadamuné (13th century). Arikuné (12th century) and the first Munehika (11th century) are in a special class. The “modern” makers of note are Sada, Yasuhiro, and Sukehiro. Of the work of these early makers not one example of the twenty-eight grouped in the first order of merit is public property in America. . A few are in private collections.

Purchasers are often misled by a display of magnificent mounting. Seldom, indeed, does such a scabbard contain a “true” blade. The impoverished Samurai, as want compelled them to part with their heirlooms, sold piecemeal the sword-furnishings of gold and silver, wrought iron, and delicate inlay, always hoping for the intervention of some happy chance to save them “their soul.” When at last the blade itself had to go—and many a case of harakiri attested the bitterness of the loss—it left its destitute owner in a plain case of wood, unadorned save for its name in red or black writing. As each sword must be individually fitted out, no two being exactly similar, it is readily seen that gorgeousness of mounting would indicate that the weapon had been sold complete, which was seldom the fate of one of the ancient masterpieces, that were loved, worshipped and treasured from generation to generation.

## COMPLETE MANUAL OF THE OLD SWORD.

### INTRODUCTION ON THE METHOD OF THE SWORD JUDGMENT.

Man possesses a natural intelligence whereby he is enabled to guess the form of a thing by hearing the sound it produces, or divine its meaning by seeing only its shape. Our judgment of a sword is reasoned in like manner: we first become familiar with the marks of a sword A, and when we afterward recognize these signs in a sword B, we conclude that A belongs to the same class as B. There are, however, two varieties of differentiation. One is the individual peculiarities of the produc-



tion of each maker. The other is the accidental personality of each sword. For instance, whatever clothes they may put on, we can recognize our intimate friends, if we see but a gesture, or a backward glance, while we fail to remember mere acquaintances. So it will be most necessary, in the case of the sword, that we should remember the difference between the changing clothes and the body within them. We are often inclined to pass a hasty judgment even without distinguishing between a "midare" or "straight edge," when a sword resembles closely one we know well, or when it bears some peculiar ornament, which tradition ascribes to a certain maker. But in such a case we judge from its clothes and not by the true method of sword judgment, which is the very opposite in every way of vague supposition.

The difficulty of judgment will be seen from the fact that there are many kinds of "straight edge," all of them apparently the same. It is the object of a sword judge to minutely discern these variants. For the convenience of beginners, we have attached, in the following pages, some illustrations of the important marks of such swords.

#### ON THE PRACTICE OF THE JUDGMENT.

Keep always in your memory the following three details: (1) the names of all provinces and their situation; (2) the names of all eras from the era of Daido, in their successive order; (3) the complete list of swords. (It is very awkward to consult the book every time you have a blade to examine.)

When you examine a sword, always hold it lengthwise, point upward, and in such a position that the light, coming over your shoulder, will shine on its blade, for thus you may see it most clearly. Look closely, inch by inch, from hilt to point, first on the outside (right hand) and then on the inside, examining it on its plane (*taira*), ridge (*shinogi*), back (*mune*), etc. Consider well whether it is 'gunome,' or 'choji' or a *sakagokora* (reverse line), in case it is a 'midare,' or whether it has 'feet' or not. Should it belong to the straight edge class, observe also the character of its 'nehiyokentsuri' (boiling marks), and its 'glory.' Then select from the list you have kept in your mind that class to which you think it bears the greatest resemblance. Compare each peculiarity of that class with the blade

in hand, and never ignore any unsatisfactory detail, however great the resemblance may be in other respects (although in many cases one's first impression is correct). Never neglect to examine each part searchingly until you have finished, for if you do not carefully study its back or edge, you may fail to notice its scars. If the reflection of light is inconvenient, you may examine the blade slantingly. Always touch the sword with a wrapper; never touch it with your sleeves, and you ought to keep the hilt and scabbard covered with a wrapper. Never let the blade touch its scabbard either when you withdraw it or when you return it to its case. (Besides this, there are many things to be observed.) Express your opinion only after you have sheathed the blade.

The short sword must not be judged in the same manner as the long sword. The same swordsmith often makes the one differently from the other. One, for instance, being 'midare' and the other the "straight edge." Beginners must take the greatest care not to judge the long sword from the marks of the short sword, for some swordsmiths forged only the long sword, while others made a specialty of the short blade.

Knowledge concerning the whetting is very necessary, for without it good judgment is utterly impossible, since in many cases the true nature of the stuff-iron, or the presence of scars, etc., is concealed by whetting.

Examine as many swords as possible, for practice makes for perfect judgment, and during your investigation put a wrapper around the nakago (that part of a sword which enters the handle), which bears the inscription of the maker's name. Examine the blade twice, thrice, or even to the fifth time, asking yourself whether your judgment is correct, or nearly so, or possibly wrong in regard to its origin. Be careful not to express an unordered opinion, but judge according to the rules of the edge, structure, etc. To say that "I think it resembles some work I saw somewhere," is awkward; and instantly to guess the maker of a work with which you are already acquainted is no glory, not because you may not hit upon it rightly, but because you do not judge it according to rule. You will never judge correctly if you do not work according to rule. Never make a strained judgment, but answer honestly according to your study of the blade. If you had examined ten swords and conclude

that all of them belong to Nagamitsu, then you must answer: "They are made by Nagamitsu"; never temper your judgment by your supposition that it is impossible there should be so great a number of Nagamitsu's works in one place. Be not dazzled by splendid ornament, nor scorn poor appurtenances. Having no thought of the owner, and receiving no influence from mere supposition, keep your eyes and mind fixed upon the marks of the blade.

When you meet with a sword that you cannot judge at all, confess frankly that you cannot judge. There are numbers of unknown swords whose makers even Honnami cannot determine. It would be most ridiculous to pass your judgment on such a sword from mere guess work.

The 'straight'-edged sword must be judged exclusively by the rule of the straight edge, and the 'midare'-edged sword by that of the 'midare.' If you meet with uncommon work, it is not proper to judge at once by the rules of exception, for you must first judge it by the general rules. Only when there are some striking marks of dissemblance may you use the rules of exception. Suppose we saw a short sword, having the characteristics of Hasebe Nobushige, but straighter and narrower than was his customary form. One man will at once judge it to be Hasebe's work, but another will say: "It is the work of Hiro-masu of the province of Sagami," and upon being told that his judgment is wrong, will say: "Although its structure is different, it may belong to Hasebe." In this case the latter is the better judge. For the sword having the more vital characteristic marks of the class from the province of Sagami, it will be great shame to the first judge should it turn out to be Hasebe's; but not so with the second judge. Infer other things from this instance. Never judge carelessly, nor strive to obtain the admiration of others, for the existence of such a feeling is to be considered as a proof of unskillfulness.

#### THINGS TO BE REMEMBERED IN SWORD-JUDGMENT.

Beginners desire too ardently simply to determine the name of the maker; so much so that they are often misled by a falsified inscription. The judgment of the sword, however, is far more difficult than that of any other article. Old swords are often so rubbed and worn that it is impossible to discern their

traits, which may have been modified, moreover, by good or bad whetting. Besides, although there are many thousands of sword-smiths, we may be acquainted with only a few. It is necessary, therefore, for beginners to copy and keep records of the structure, lines, inscriptions, etc., of each sword they examine. The works made by the first and second classes are most difficult, for, notwithstanding the limited number and the splendid marks of structure and inscription, the first works differ in the most minute points. Inferior works have no constant mark which can be considered characteristic of any particular maker.

If the edge has no 'feet' or no 'midare' but has a great degree of nobility, then it is generally made by either Awadaguchi, Rai Tayema, Kanenaga, Senjuin, Yukimitsu, Shintogo, Old Miike, Sairen, Yukihiro, or Nagamitsu, and sometimes by Nobukuni, Yoshinori, Tenkai, Shitsu Kake, Kagemitsu, Unjo Zenju, Aoye, etc. If its nobility is slight, although it possesses boiling woody grains, it is made by Unatsu or Hojen, or by Shimada, Seki, or Niō. If its ridge (shinogi) is high, by Mikoro; if its appearance is good in no part, by the old Namihira, Imka, Kagenaga, or Fuyuhira, or Later Bizen; and if its appearance is bad and the 'boiling grain' is not noble, by Kongobyoye, Takata, or Kanafusa. The full details are given in the chapter on the classification of edges.

Whenever a blade has 'feet,' it belongs to the class of Aoye; and if it has "little midare," it belongs either to the Old and Middle Bizen or to Mihara, Namihira, etc. Other details are given in the following chapters. Take care not to confound the edge that has small 'feet,' with the straight edge which resembles it very closely.

One class of 'midare' called 'Notare midare,' is composed of many varieties which all boil very irregularly. These are chiefly made by the Masamune school. We can only distinguish their provinces and ages, the makers' names being lost.

Another class, called "Choji midare," chiefly appears in the works of Ichimoji; if it has 'boiling grains' it may be the work of Yoshiye, Sadatoshi, Awadaguchi, Rai Kuniyuki, etc.; yet if its 'boiling grains' are scanty, and it has rich glory ('Nioi,' the shining appearance of the blade), it is of the Bizen school; if it is of the 'small Choji,' then it belongs among the products of Old Bizen. The works of Bizen and Kyo are easily confounded.

Another class, 'Gunome midare,' is the chief characteristic of the work of the Bizen class, and Sehi, or of Yamato, Kaga, Iwari, Bungo, and Takata, or of Utsu, Hojin, and Namihira.

Works by Aoye, whether they be of 'midare' or of 'small feet,' always have the 'Saka' (reverse line), and this is also the case with the work of Samoji and Ichimoji.

The 'hitatsura' edge cannot be found among swords of the first class, and that of the common and middle works has no admirable character. Although this sort of edge appears in the works of Hiromitsu and Hasebe, which are much recommended in the old books, and although the work of these masters is undoubtedly superior, still the Hitatsura edge is undeniably undignified.

Works of the Bizen class have unequal 'midare,' which is seen to increase toward the hilt and to diminish at the point. Some of the Ichimoji blades have their greatest width at the middle, and possess some 'little midare,' as is also the case with the swords of Rai Kuniyuki and Kunitoshi. Generally speaking, the works of the Bizen class have scant 'boiling grains,' but rich 'glory' and frequently have the soft edge at the 'cap' ('boshi,' the point).

Works of the Sagami class never have a soft-edged cap, attention being concentrated in the point. Of course, there are some works exceptionally executed; but each bears some unmistakable characteristic of its maker.

There are many swordsmiths who bear the same name. They may belong either to the same century or to a different age, so that it is difficult to distinguish among them.

The short sword is commonly called Kusungobu (9.5 inches), although we always include it in the 7 or 8 inch class. We may also term them Kowakizashi (small waist sword).

As for ornamental figures, some were carved at a later period, and others by contemporary, but by different hands, so that they do not necessarily offer determining proof. Despite this, however, some peculiarities may be traced in each of them. It is noteworthy that some of them have had their shapes modified afterward.

There are many different sorts of the skin (or coat) of the blade, like the Masame (regular woody lines), the Itame (irregular woody lines), or the Pear-Skin, which has spots like a

section of that fruit. (The higher quality of the Pear-skin is called Kenzan skin.) Among the swords of the Itame, those are the best whose iron is dense, and among whose woody grains silvery lines are visible. Some have the minute boiling-marked skin among their woody lines. The color of such work is often heightened by whetting and polishing, but the glaring color of the common sword shows the stiffness of the iron. The brightness of re-heated swords is somewhat lacking in moist and dewy quality. Here lies danger of great confusion. Those which have the woody skin are somewhat inferior in quality, the superabundant presence of this texture indicating the softness of the iron and imperfection of hammering. Some works have a very rough skin like the bark of a pine-tree, and such a sword is not good, even if the effect be the result of rude whetting. The edge of some blades cannot be discerned, owing to the presence of spots, and such works are not generally fit to use, as is the case with many swords of Sukesada, etc. There are also some blades whose marks have been purposely erased by whetting. The best skin is fine, silky, and beautiful.

"Good work" has different meanings, be it of the first or second class. It is like the good weather of the seasons. We say it is good weather when, in spring, it is balmy and rich; good weather in autumn, when calm, and in winter, when it is exceptionally warm. Meanings differ as the seasons differ. Now the good works of the modern swords ('shinto'—new sword) are like the good weather of summer, calm, warm, and not at all cloudy; while the work of the ancient skillful maker is spring-like, being dewy and transparent as regards the iron; and distinguished by an ineffable character of profundity. This is the secret part of sword-judgment which needs your careful consideration.—If you examine only the outer marks of structure and do not take into account the whole character of the sword, it is like enquiring about the genealogy of a man, and failing to ascertain the quality of his soul.

#### SOME REMARKS ON SWORDS; SCARS OF SWORDS.

In order to straighten a sword which is too much curved, the smith sometimes hammered the ridge from the hilt to the top on both sides of the blade, thus straightening it by extending the ridge. It is impossible, however, to modify the shape of a

sword which is heated on its back (*munegake*), for if a sword has a flaw in its interior, its point will be broken by much beating.

In order to curve a sword which is too straight, the smith applies a red-hot copper bar to its back, and when the color of its ridge changes to purple, he dips it gradually into water from the edge to the point. Repetition of this process will finally bend the blade. Some warp in a short time; others never warp. Strong-edged swords that warp very rapidly sometimes split in the edge, and soft-edged swords never warp. Remember that the poorly made sword warps but little, and has a very inferior appearance in its welded edge.

However celebrated may be the maker of a re-heated sword, it has no value. Such a sword has as its condemnation a different color in its skin, crossing obliquely at its hilt (which, however, will vanish by whetting), and its cap shows no nobility. Both sides differ in character; the skin is rough and loose (with a few exceptions its iron not at all moist); its edge is hard and difficult to polish, and its 'boiling grain' glaring and gloomy; all its features deformed and unbeautiful, even after it is polished. If it be very skillfully re-heated, its skin, etc., may seem very splendid, especially after the lapse of fifty or one hundred years, when it is cleared from the marks of heating. It still retains, nevertheless, some ghastly traces which assure us it is useless. There are also some other swords of the same kind whose point only is re-heated for two or three inches in order to fill in a lack of welded edge. Such swords generally have no *Kayeri*; and their caps are disgraceful and artificial. Their welded edges are also very vague, which shows that they are disfigured by polishing.

Take great care not to overlook any scars, though often they are half concealed by whetting; and do not mistake rust for a scar.

All scars in the 'cap' must be avoided, whether they be 'moon's rings,' 'bird's bill,' or 'crow's beak.' 'Back split' and 'vertical split' are not so objectionable, the former appearing frequently in the works of *Kongobyoye*, etc.

'Corner stain,' 'barren ground' and 'edge stain' may be tolerated if they do not appear in large quantities.

A slight protuberance or depression, if slight, may be concealed by whetting (which may occasionally cause it), so that

it will not be objectionable, if it is not great. Examine well, however, whether it is shallow or deep.

A 'knot' is produced by imperfect hammering, and never appears in superior work.

'Buried metal' was not ill thought of in ancient times, but it is to be avoided, since the depth of the scar cannot be ascertained.

'Stain' on the edge if slight must be allowed, and is characteristic of almost all works of Kunimune, Morinaga, and others.

If there be any split in the boundary of the welded edge, it is called 'Glory's split' (Nioigire). You may clearly detect it by looking at it obliquely, or better still, by the light of a lamp. This split is to be avoided.

If the surface of the edge is uneven, the iron of the lower part is generally soft, or else its welding is incomplete.

'Edge split' and 'shinaye' must not be allowed. Both are scars transversely made. If it is massed in one place it is called 'centipede shinaye.' Shinaye of the back and ridge may generally be cut away. 'Vertical split' is sometimes concealed by the chisel. However much the shinaye is reduced by the chisel, it will still be seen when it is whetted. Some hold that scars of the ridge and back are worse than those of the edge, because the iron forms, as it were, the backbone of the sword. Others claim that edge or steel scars are more fatal than that of the iron, because it is the edge which bears the brunt of battle. Both are right, since either defect will occasion the breaking of the sword when in action. Strictly speaking, even inscriptions and figure carving may have the same result. If the iron is too soft, it may bend; if it is too hard, it is liable to break. These are important points requiring careful attention on the part of swordsmiths.

'Arrow scar' is not objectionable; we ought rather to admire it. It is a mark left by an arrow's head, and resembles the slight puncture left by the stroke of a drill.

'Clash' is not a scar, but a mark produced by the clashing of blades. Among superior swords, eight or nine out of ten bear 'clash.' Beware, however, of those swords whose 'shinaye' is so disguised as to resemble 'clash.'

Such are the scars that can be seen on the surface. Sometimes a new flaw will appear during the whetting, and at other



times old scars will disappear through whetting. If a sword has no outward flaw it is treated as having no scar. Although it is not good to cut away the 'vertical split,' etc., by the chisel, yet it cannot be called bad, as it modifies any unsightliness. These scars are sometimes concealed by figure carving. Only a few of the celebrated works are without scars. Thus a little 'edge stain,' 'vertical split,' etc., are to be tolerated. 'Broken edge' was not disliked in ancient times. It is a question whether we may pass 'broken edge' when it is split. But we may safely say it will not be as objectionable if the injury is slight. Victory is often gained by a sword whose edge is broken. It is not right to admire the ancient sword having no scar. It should show its marks of service. In the case of modern work, it is different. It should be flawless.

#### ON THE WHETTING.

As the whole appearance of a sword may depend upon the mode of whetting, we must select the most honest and skillful workman. A good whetter will work upon a sword as long as may be necessary, repeating the process until the blade is perfectly finished; but a dishonest whetter thinks only how he may save his labour, and will omit the proper processes; when and wherever he thinks it will be overlooked by an unpractised customer, he will betray his trust. The general features of a sword are thus deformed to such an extent that precious mounting may be irrevocably injured. There are many whetters of this class who will heat the edge when it is too hard; who will whet away without caring whether or not they injure the edge; who will not obliterate scars and protuberances and spots upon the blade; only whetting away the obvious rust. The most important parts to be treated by whetting are the angle of the small ridge, the shape of the cap, the part near the hilt, and the body of the blade. These may be carried by the skillful whetter to the highest degree of perfection. Even the sword two or three feet long may have its appearance modified to an extent of two or three inches. To "make the irregular even" is, however, the chief care of the whetter, who must not injure the edge while polishing the body, or stain the body while whetting the edge. There are some qualities of iron which are very difficult to finish, requiring constant labour for twenty to

forty days. My teacher once told me that he knew of a sword, most perfectly finished, which required fifty days of whetting! Thus you will understand how difficult it is to get a sword whetted for a limited sum of money when the labour required must differ so greatly according to the nature of the blade.

These are my brief remarks on whetting, but, as this subject is most abstruse, you must continue its special study under your own teacher.

#### AUTHORITY OF THE SWORD JUDGE.

There are many books concerning the secrets of sword-judgment. Some from the hands of skillful judges. They contain much, however, that is inexplicable, and no rule can be adopted, however skillful its author, if it contradicts the rules established by Honnami, for Honnami is the established authority on the sword to this day.<sup>1</sup> In the time<sup>2</sup> of Hideyoshi there lived a man called Ikeda Sanzayemon, who was a very skillful judge of swords. He issued his certificate under the title of Honnami Kosetsu, inlaying the name of the maker with his own in gold or in red lacquer, on the nakago, having no inscription, as is the custom to this day. Although at that time there lived many celebrated judges, Honnami was the best and most renowned. There lived also Miyoshi and Hosokawa, whose secrets I have received, but the books written by them are very difficult to understand, their style being archaic and confused. There have been many changes since their epoch. There was no polishing, rubbing, etc., the process of whetting being closed with the present 'middle whetting.' Although there was some improvement in the time of Kohō, the grandson of Kosetsu, it was but the rude polishing of the ridge, so that all the modes of finish by which the iron is modified and the body is rubbed and brightened, etc., are later developments and inventions of the house of Honnami. Thus, if we were ignorant of the rules of Honnami and contented ourselves with the books of the ancients, we should fall into gross errors. There have also been gradually discovered certain methods of whetting by which dishonest workmen are enabled to finish their work by shorter processes, so that the old sword may be made to appear new, an inferior

<sup>1</sup> The statement still holds good.

<sup>2</sup> Late sixteenth century.

one to be noble, good characteristics may be disguised, and objectionable marks made to appear excellent; all this simply from the manner of whetting. Consequently we must carefully study the modes of whetting and accumulate experience on this point, which, however, cannot be perfectly realized without actual practice in whetting. There are twelve families of the house of Honnami, and all are acquainted with the modes of whetting. Many skillful men of the house successively made observation from their own experience, and these are now handed down as the established rules. Every student of the sword must study these rules. There are indeed some men who are ignorant of them, although they are sometimes able to determine the name of the maker correctly. This must not be thought strange, for when we ask such men the characteristics of that maker they are always unable to answer. They are like those doctors who sometime cure diseases though they are wholly ignorant of medical science. We must be careful, on the other hand, not to depend solely upon books, thus neglecting practice. It is needless to say that however well the rules are studied, skillful judgment cannot be gained without experience. We must neglect neither practice nor rules.

#### ON THE SELECTION OF THE SWORD.

As the sword will be judged differently by men of different interests, you must be very careful in its selection. Some are foolish enough to pass judgment on a sword which they cannot really understand, others will not speak the truth although they see it. The merchant may speak falsely in order to sell his wares. If a blade belongs to some nobleman, or if it is appreciated as a family treasure, or if the possessor is very proud of its supposed qualities, the true judgment will often be withheld through courtesy. When you would have any sword truly judged, you must commit it unreservedly to a judge of absolute sincerity.

There are some swords which have the inscription of one maker while they are unanimously regarded as the work of another swordsmith. In such cases the decision of the judges must stand. The sword is made by the power of fire and water, and its quality is stable. We ought to admire any happily made work though it come from the forge of an inferior maker. The product of a workman does not always reach one standard.

So if the work is not perfect, we must depend upon the decision of the judges. We therefore append a certificate to each sword, to show in what manner and for what reasons the value of the blade has been determined. If one issues a dishonest certificate, the crime committed by such a man is indeed great. As Hon-nami is the surest authority, we recommend all who wish swords to consult with him.

#### ON THE NAME 'SWORD.'

The ancient name of the sword was 'tashi' (great cutter). The name 'katana' was adopted more recently in contradistinction to 'wakizashi' (waist sword), that is, short sword. The latter is always characterized by the absence of ornamental metal at the tip of its scabbard, there being no difference between the blades.

Linguistically, the original meaning of the sword was "to come," that is to say, "to come to the proper place by cutting." It is written in a book entitled "Domeiki," that "we cannot ascertain what was the shape of the ancient sword although it is said that the Emperor Hwoang first moulded a sword from the copper of Mt. Shū." At all events, the present sword has a far different shape from the sword of ancient times.

#### GLOSSARY OF TERMS.

Ukubi type: thin back.

Shobu type: ridge type, without sides, and with a thin back.

Plain type: some are bent and some straight; the cutting edge is termed fukura.

Short sword: 1. shaku (more than 12 inches) long.

Middle-sized sword: from 1.03 to 1.75 shaku in length; of the ridge type, etc.

Sword: more than two shaku in length.

Modified halberd: of various lengths.

Old Bizen: The smiths before the era of Genrei.

Kuitashi: from 1.05 to 1.95 shaku in length.

Great short sword: from 1.08 to 1.99 shaku in length.

Tashi: commander's sword of different forms but modeled upon the lines of bisection of the riken (double-edged lance point).

Kiriha: a sword with an edge like that of a small knife.

Kosorimono: works of Nagafune from the era of Aei to that of Eiwa.

The sword form is derived from the bisection of the hōken (leaf-shaped double edged lance form).

The "length" of a sword is the measure of the blade from the point to the hilt—the length of the nakago being disregarded.

The sword is composed of a highly tempered iron body to which a steel edge is welded. The best work has a white edge and blue body. "Middle" work shows a blue edge and black iron, and inferior blades, a black edge and white iron, although the nature of the metal must naturally differ according to country and the different methods of each swordsmith.

*Works of the high ridge.*

Mihara, Niō, Yamato class, etc.

*Works of the wide furrow.*

Miike, Yamato class, Kiyotsuna, Mitsutada, Unji, Sukezane.

*Works of the thick back.*

Yamato class, Yoshimitsu, Kagemitsu, Kagemasa, Miike, Nobukuni, Sa, Seiren, etc.

*Works having decorations carved near the center of the blade.*

Kunitsuna, Kanehira, Masatsune, Norimune, Ichimoji class, Naganitsu class, Chikamura, Heianjō, Shiga class, etc.

*Works having the round back.*

Hasebe, Mihara, Miike, Masamune, Sukezane, Aoye, Kuniyashu, Nagamitsu, Kanahira, Tomonari, Nobukuni, Fuyuhiro, Niō, Kogawa, Kagashirō.

*Works of the triangular back.*

Also called "Shinno Mune" (true back), chiefly seen in the works of the Kyō, Yamato and Sagami classes.

*"Cap" or point.*

In the Yamato class it is closely welded. In the Seki class it is rounded, and in the Bizen class it is pointed. There are of

course exceptions. In the Sagami class it is widely and strongly welded.

*Jifu*.—The skin marks left by welding: they consist of regular or irregular woody lines, “pear-skin,” etc. Its characteristics vary according to the province of the swordsmith.

*Utsuri*.—Shadowy marks in the plain, sometimes in the whole of the blade, seen in the Bizen class, and especially in the work of Kanemitsu.

#### BOILING MARK.

This is sometimes seen on the plain, but its quantity and quality differ according to the work. Although it is characteristic of superior work, it is also seen in the inferior grades. The ‘boiling’ in the latter class is angular and crowded, besides being indistinct and dull, while the boiling mark of the superior grade resembles the finest lacquer surface, strewn with silver powder. This mark is seen either on the edge or the boundary of the welded edge. The ‘welded back’ and ‘Yubashiri’ generally has the ‘boiling,’ and whether it is abundant or scanty, a bright boiling mark is regarded as the best.

#### GLORY. (NIOI.)

Hazy rays pouring forth from the boundary of the edge to its margin and found in the superior grades, but not in the lower. Although it occurs in the middle grade, it is irregular and uneven, while the deep glory enclosing the boiling mark is seen only in the best work.

#### CHIKEL.

A brilliant woody texture differing both from sunagashi and from jifu, and seen only in the best grades.

#### LIGHTENING.

Like jifu, but more brilliant and glittering; seen chiefly in the boundary of the edges in the highest grades.

#### UCHIYOKE.

Something like the welded edge, boiled finely, and occurring here and there outside the edge.

## SUNAGASHI.

A boiling mark like strewn sand, occurring both on and about the edge.

## YUHASHIRI.

Something like the welded mark, either boiled or unboiled, occurring on the back, ridge, and plain.

## NOTES OF CERTAIN SWORDSMITHS.

The naginata (halberd) was first made by Yamato Sadamune, in the second year of Kwanji. All the naginatas made by Tajima Hoseiji have their points softly tempered, in order to avoid their breaking. For 250 years after the age of Hogen, or Heiji, many celebrated artists appeared in the house of Ichimoji, including Norimune, Sukemune, and others. Fukuoka- (or Yoshioka)-Ichimoji is a somewhat inferior worker. According to the old book, some of their works are not signed with the name of Ichimoji, while many of Fukuoka's blades bear the inscription, "a native of Yoshioka." The nakago of the Bizen class, made about the age of Oei, is generally short, as is also the case with some halberds of Naotsuna, Tomokuni, Nio, and others. The angular shape of the nakago is derived from the shape of the sotoba (grave-board), so that by grasping it the owner may not be doomed to the three evil paths of transmigration.

It is said that Masamune did not inscribe his name, believing no sword could be made which might be mistaken for his own. Yoshimune, on the other hand, inscribed the letters of his name so no one might know which part was written first and which last. His earlier blades have the initial of his name with a small letter, but afterwards he inscribed in larger figures: the later works are superior. There are many traditions of the master. Some maintain that the length of his nakago is 4.2 sun. (See the chapter on the list of the nakagos.)

'Kurikara' is the figure of a dragon entwined on the sword and drawn in the shape of a Sanskrit letter.

When Rai Kuniyuki was young he inscribed himself as 'Kunitoshi,' but after the birth of his son Magotaro, he gave this name to the latter, and signed himself Kuniyuki. In fear

lest his blades should be confounded with those of his father, Magotaro inscribed his name as Rai Kunitoshi after his thirty-eighth year, calling himself Rai Minamoto Kunitoshi from his sixty-second to his one hundred and fifth year. Notwithstanding this, there are two varieties of blade bearing the name of Kunitoshi, one being the early work of Kuniyuki, and the other the younger productions of Rai Kunitoshi. The secret details of this matter can be transmitted only orally.

The works of Yukihiro, surnamed Kishindaya (the Devil), have the nakago narrow and thin, with an 'oblique file' and an angular head, while the upper part of the menuki hole (through which the pin holding scabbard handle is secured) is cut by the file. Having his residence in the provinces of Bungo, he inscribed himself "Yukihiro of the province of Bizen." While he was living in a mountainous village, a devil disguised as a boy came and asked him to make a sword 27 sun in length. After receiving it and killing his enemy, the boy served Yukihiro and helped him make his swords. Once he gave Yukihiro a great mass of iron which was brought to his house by seven or eight men. When Yukihiro was sick, the boy made many dozen swords by himself and inscribed them with his master's name. He then said to Yukihiro that he wished him to sell these swords himself, and to live comfortably with the money he should get for them, while, having served Yukihiro for three years, he must return to his original home. Thereupon he suddenly disappeared, and when Yukihiro sold these swords it was thought the boy was a demon (Kishin), so that they gave Yukihiro the nickname "Kishindaya." Some say he lived in Yamato. There were three men of the name of Yukihiro. The life history of the second greatly resembled that of the first, though he lived 470 years later; but the history of the third Yukihiro is unauthentic and vague.

Yukihiro was born in Bungo in the era of Tengu. When he was 41 years old, he was banished to Kozuke for some crime. He returned to his country after the lapse of 16 years. Some say that he studied in Bizen, and so became the royal smith, assistant to the Emperor.

His father, Sadahide, was also a famous smith, but as he died when Yukihiro was only nine years old, it is impossible that he taught the son. It is said that when Yukihiro resided in the



province of Dewa he sometimes marked his swords 'Getsusan' on the outside and 'Yukihira' on the reverse.

The old works of Harima are tolerably well made, although on the whole they are inferior in their structure, nakago, etc.

There are inscriptions which are generally avoided, as of evil portent, such as "Ryohai," "Sairen," "Jitsua," "Tengaimono," "Jikkake," "Senjuin," and all Buddhistic words as well as Sanskrit letters, which, however, were not shunned in ancient times. Perhaps it will not be well to seek especially for swords which are detested, such as the work of Muramasa, and in some cases it would be best to withhold judgment, if the sword happens to have belonged to Namihira, Ryohai, etc.

Masamune was a most skillful swordsmith, and his work is found in great variety. This is true, also, of Yukimitsu and Bizen Nagamori, etc. Their work, classified as 'straight edge,' sometimes has 'midare' or 'hitatsura,' while those classified as 'midare edge' occasionally have the straight edge, etc. There are secrets concerning their structure and welded edge, which, however, are not admitted by all men. Here we give the list of the varieties:

Yoshimitsu (small midare)	Notsugu (straight)
Kuniyoshi (straight)	Tadatsugu (straight)
Masamune (make bent, straight)	Rai Kunitsugu (straight)
Go Yoshihiro (both bent and straight)	Kunitoshi (straight)
Sadamune (straight)	Nobunaga (straight)
	Fugishima (straight)
Hiromitsu (both bent and straight)	{ Chiyozuru (straight)
	{ Muramasa (straight)
Akihiro (both bent and straight)	Masatsune (straight)
Shizu (both bent and straight)	{ Mitsutada (wide straight)
	{ Tomomitsu (straight)
Kaneshige (straight)	Yoshimitsu (straight)
Tsunetsugu (straight)	Shigesane (straight)
Nagayoshi (straight)	Tochika (straight)
Motomitsu (straight)	
Motoshigi (straight)	Unji (straight)
Chikakage (straight)	Yoshi class (straight)
Yoshikage (straight)	Mitsukane (small make)
Kagemasa (straight)	Miike (midare)
Ichimoji (straight)	Kongobyoye (midare)
Yoshioka (small midare)	Kagenage (midare).

Despite the number of varieties just enumerated, it is necessary to trace each characteristic.

## CLASSIFICATION OF THE WELDED EDGE.

Straight edge, the iron beautifully boiled, and very fine.

*Artists:* Yoshimitsu, Shintogo, Kuniyoshi, Mitsukani.

KYO CLASS—*Artists:* Munechika, Hisakuni, Norikuni, Kunitomo Arikuni, Kunimitsu, Rai Kuniyuki, Rai Kunimitsu, Rai Kunitsugu, Rai Kunitoshi, Ryokai, Nobukuni, Yoshinori, Hasebe.

YAMATO CLASS—*Artists:* Taema, Aritoshi, Shenjuin, Yasumasa, Kanenaga, Kanenori, Kaneuji, Tenkai, Shirikake, Kanefusa.

BIZEN CLASS—*Artists:* Yoshitomo, Sanenaga, Nagamitsu, Unjo, Unjū, Kagemitsu, Yoshimitsu, Kanemitsu, Masamitsu, Moromitsu, Morikage.

LATER BIZEN CLASS—*Artists:* Tadamitsu, Norimitsu, Sukuada, Kiyomitsu, Morimitsu, Kisamitsu, etc.

Getsusan, Tekai, Kagashiro, Fuyuhiko, Sanekage, Iruka, Kunit-sugu, Kagenage, Michihiru, Namihiru.

Great oblique file and round head.

*Artists:* Hisakuni, Kuniyasu, Arikuni, Sadatoshi, Yoshikane, Norimune, Yoshifusa, Nobufusa, Yukihide, Kagehide, Sukekuni, Unji, Unju, Masatsune.

KATAYAMA CLASS—*Artists:* Sairen, Jitsua, Sa, Yasukichi, Yoshisada. Later Miike, Ohara Sanemori, Tadasada, Chiyozuru, Iruka, Sanetsugu, Yukihiro.

Great oblique file, with hammer marks.

*Artists:* Yokihura, Sadahide, Yukimitsu, Yamanouchi Kunitsuna, Kanenji, Norishige, Sa, Sa Kunihiro, Sairen, Jitsua, Miike, Enjū, Aoe, Kaneshige, Sanekage, Akikuni, Sadasue, Chiyozuru, Nakazina Rai, Hoshōjo, Utsu, Shimadu, Hoju, Kagenaga, Mihara, Fuyuhiko, Yoshimitsu, Kaifu, Hiromitsu, Nobunaga, Nio, Iruka, Kumitsugu, Namihira, Michinaga, Tatsufusa, Kagashiro, Kiyomitsu, Takata, Kongobyōye, Oishimono, Seki, and others.

Straight edge, called "Ayasugi" skin.

*Artists:* Getsusan, Momokawa Nagayoshi, Momokawa Tsuguyoshi, Jumyo, Fuyuhiko, Namihira, and "Yamato" class generally.

Straight edge, combined with small midare.

*Artists:* Jenjo Kaneyoshi, Namihira, Kongobyōye, Kagenaga, Utsu, Nio.

Straight edge, combined with small midare, and having deep 'glory' and fine 'boiling,' characteristic of Bizen class.

*Artists:* Sukehira, Kanehira, Yoshikane, Tomonari, Yukihide, Sukekuni, Yoshimochi, Koresuke, Unji, Unjū.

*Artists:* Hisakuni, Kuniyasu, Kunikiyo, Yoshiie, Rai Kuniyuki, Kunitoshi, Yukihiro, Sadahide, Masatsune, Yasutsuna, Sanemori, Enju, Sairen, Miike, Tamitsugu, Yoshihisa.

Straight edge, combined with small midare, boiled; found in Yamato class.

*Artists:* Senjuin, Kanehira, Tenkai, Shirikahe, Yasumasa.

Senjuin, Rai Kunimitsu, Nakajima Rai, Nagamitsu, Kageyasu, Yoshii, Utsu, Shimada, Kagenaga, Getsusan, Namihira, Takata, Kaimikara, Ichijō.

Straight edge, combined with the 'reverse midare;' Bizen characteristic.

*Artists:* Tomonari, Yukihide, Sanenaga, Shigizane, Kanemitsu, Kagemitsu, Kagemasa, Sanemori, Moromitsu, Chikakage, Motoshige, Unjo.

Yasumitsu, Aoye, Matsune, Mihara, Tatsufusa.

Straight edge, having rats' feet (i. e. small feet).

*Artists:* Rai Kunimitsu, Ryokai, Sukekane, Unsho, Unji, Unju, Aoye, Takata, Michinaga, Namihira.

Reverse midare, with deep 'glory' but slight 'boiling;' characteristic of Bizen.

*Artists:* Yukihide, Masatsune, Ichimoji, Ichimoji Yoshioka, Yoshifusa, Kagehide, Hidemitsu, Sukeyoshi, Sukemitsu, Sanemori, Nagayoshi. Aoye, Katayama, Sadatsuna, Chiyazuru.

Reverse midare.

*Artists:* Motoshige, Katayama; and others who made a large reverse Midare.

Nokogiri midare of Bizen class.

*Artists:* Kanemitsu, Yoshimitsu, Kagemitsu, Kagemasa, Hidemitsu, Yoshikage, Masamitsu, Motomitsu, Motomasa.

Nokogiri midare, combined with Notare of Bizen class.

*Artists:* Kanemitsu, Kanenaga, Yoshimitsu, Tomomitsu, Hidemitsu, Yoshikage, Moromitsu, Masamitsu, Motomitsu, Motomasa.

Notare, slightly boiled; characteristic of Bizen.

*Artists:* Tomomitsu, Hidemitsu, Kanemitsu, Kanenaga, Nagayoshi, Morikage, Tomonari.

KYO CLASS—*Artists:* Munechika, Yoshiiye, Norikuni, Rai Kuniyuki, Heianjo.

Yasutsuna, Kunisuke, Kunitsuna, Yoshisada, Nakajima Rai, Kanetomo, Shimada, Kaifu, Fuyuhiko, Jumiō.

Notare midare, with the boiling mark, sunagashi, lightening, etc.

*Artists:* Yoshihiro, Masamune, Sadamune, Rai Kunimitsu, Yukimitsu, Sa, Shizu, Nobukuni, Norishige, Rai Kunitsugu, Tomokuni, Naotsuma.

Notare midare, boil well; fine specimens also occur among the works of Masamune and Sadamune, etc.

*Artists:* Nagayoshi, Kanenaga, Yoshikage, Morikage, Kunihiro, Sanekage, Shimada, Kaifu, Kanesada, Sukesada.

Notare midare, boils well, and has deep 'glory,' 'lightening,' sunagushi, etc.; also occurring in the works of Sashizu, Noki-shige, Rai Kunimitsu, etc.

*Artists:* Go Yoshihiro, Sadamune, Masamune, etc.

Hitatsura, some boil, others not.

*Artists:* Sa Kunihiro, Akihiro, Hiromitsu, Later Sagami class, Hasebe, Seki, Shimada, Ichijo, Tomo, Michinaga, Utsu Yukimitsu, Nagayoshi, Kadokuni, Heisujo, Yoshinori, Kunitsugu.

Sanbonsugi (three cryptomeria trees), boils a little; the margin of the edge is clear.

*Artists:* Kanemoto, Seki.

Gunome midare, slightly boiled.

*Artists:* Yoshii, Michinaga, Kanenobu, Seki.

Gunome midare, boiled.

BIZEN CLASS—*Artists:* Tomomitsu, Masamitsu, Motomitsu, Motomasa, Later Bizen works.

Sanekage, Akikuni, Miike, Hoju, Kagenaga, Iwami class, Utsu, Ichijo, Yomoe, Goami, Tatsufusa, Takata, Fujishima, Nobunaga, Fuyuhio, Nio, Seki, Aishi.

Gunome midare, with deep 'glory'; and woody texture, boiled on the edge and body.

BIZEN CLASS—*Artists:* Moremitsu, Yasumitsu, Morikage, Iesuke, and others of the Bizen class before the era of Oei.

Gunome midare, combined with the 'feet,' and with scanty 'glory.'

BIZEN CLASS—*Artists:* Sukesada, Katsumitsu, Kiyomitsu, Munemitsu, Norimitsu (I), Norimitsu (II),<sup>1</sup> Hisamitsu, Yohimitsu, Tadamitsu, Norimitsu, and some of the Later Bizen class.

Later Takata class, Later Seki class, Later Namikira class.

Great Gunome, well boiled.

*Artists:* Nobukuni, Later Shizu class—Kanesada (I), Kanesada (II),<sup>1</sup> Seki, Iwami class—Nio, Ichijo, Tatsufusa.

Great Gunome midare, somewhat boiled.

*Artists:* Muramasa, Kaifu, Jumyo, Kanesada.

<sup>1</sup> Different in signature.

Small Gunome midare.

YAMATO CLASS—*Artists*: Kaneuji, Shirikake, Tenkai.

Kuniyoshi, Kunimura, Rai Kunitoshi, Yasuyoshi, Yoshisada, Tamitsugu, Iwari works, Takata, Kai mihara, Kunitsugu.

Gunome midare, with a slight tendency towards notare, and boils well, and has a deep 'glory,' and sunagashi.

*Artists*: Kaneshige, Daneyuki, Later Shizu class, Naoye, Senjuin, Hirotsugu.

Small midare edge.

KYO CLASS—*Artists*: Munechika, Yoshiiye, Arikuni, Ryohai.

OLD BIZEN CLASS—*Artists*: Ichimoji, Nagamitsu, Unji, Unsho, Unju, Yasutsuna, Jitsua, Miike, Yoshii class.

Choji edge and Choji midare, with a deep 'glory,' and in the Kyo class heavily boiled.

KYO CLASS—*Artists*: Kikuzukuri, Yoshiiye, Sadayoshi, Kunitsuna, Kuniyasu, Kanenaga, Rai Kuniyuki, Kunitoshi, Kunimitsu.

BIZEN CLASS—*Artists*: Sukehane, Yoshikane, Nobufusa, Tomonari, Masatsune, Mitsutada, Nagamitsu, Moriye, Sanenaga, Sanemori, Norinaga, Yasumori, Sukemune, Sukenari, Muneyoshi, Nobufusa I and II, Nobumasa, Yoshifusa, Sukezane, Yoshinune, Yoshimochi, Yoshiiye, Yoshihira, Sanetoshi, Norifusa, Yoshimoto, Kunimune, and Ichimoji class in Fukunoka and Yoshioki, etc.

Sanemori, Hoshoji, Masamune.

Classification of the structure of the short swords:

Straight make.

*Artists*: Yoshimitsu, Kuniyoshi, Kunitomo, Norikuni, Munechika, Rai Kunitoshi, Rai Kunitsugu, Mitsukane, Ryohoi, Nobukuni, Tayema, Hoshogoro, Shirikake, Tenkai, Moriye, Kagemitsu, Kagemasa, Yoshimitsu, Unji, Shintogo, Yoshimitsu, Masamune, Yoshihiro, Norishige, Shinsoku, Kongobyoye, Miike, Enju, Hoshoji, Kagenaga, Sadasuye, Akikuni, Iruka, Kaifu.

Bent make.

*Artists*: Tomokuni, Heianjo class, Hasebe, Kanenaga, Nakajima Rai, Kanemitsu, Nagayoshi, Tomomitsu, Masamitsu, Motomitsu, Motomasa, Unju, Sa, Yasukichi, Kunihiro, Kunisuke, Kunitsuna, Sadamune, Hiromitsu, Sanekage, Tametsugu, Iwami class.

Mixed work.

*Artists*: Hisakuni, Rai Kunimitsu, Ranenji, Sairen, Yukihiro, Takata, Shizu, Kaneshige, Motoshige, Yoshii class, Aoye, Mihara, Ichijo, Tatsufusa, Shimada, Hoju, Getsusan, Doe, Fuyuhira, Utsu, Fujishima, Nobunaga, Nio, Namihira.

Longer plain make.

*Artists* : Sadamune, Nobukuni, Hasebe, Rai Kunitsugu, Sa Yasuyoshi, Shimada, Later Sagami class.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF THE NAKAGO.

Crosswise file and angular head.

*Artists* : Yoshihiro, Norishige, Yukimitsu, Sadamune, Nio, Tatsufusa, Kongobyoye, Shirikake, Fuyishima, Nobunaga, Sadamune.

Crosswise file and round head.

*Artists* : Yoshimitsu, Kuniyoshi, Norikuni, Munechika, Yoshiye Kaneiye, Rai Kuniyuki, Kunitoshi, Rai Kunitoshi, Rai Kunimitsu, Rai Kunitsugu, Tomokuni, Ryohai, Heianjo class, Hasebe, Nakajima Rai Tomonari, Sukehira, Kanehira, Nobufusa I and II, Muneyoshi, Yoshikane, Kanetoshi, Kaneuji, Later Senyuin, Shintogo, Hiromitsu.

Akihiro, Shizu, Kaneshige, Seki, Norishige, Utsu, Hoshoji, Sa Kunihiro, Oishi work, Miike, Akikuni, Yasutsuna, Enju, Shinsoku, Takata, Tsunetsugu, Mikara, Ichijo, Namihira, Kagashiro, Fuyuhira, Hoju, Getsusan, Iruka, Kunitsugu, Shimada.

Crosswise oblique file and round head.

*Artists* : Kunitomo, Kunitsuna, Arikuni, Kanenaga, Nobukuni, Hirazane, Masatsune, Muneyoshi, Sukezane, Yoshikane, Unsho, Sadamune, Miike, Masatsune, Norinaga, Kamihara, Kanenji, Yametsugu, Seki, Kaifu, Kaskashiro, Tayema, Later Shirikako, Fuyishima, Iwami class.

Oblique file and angular head.

*Artists* : Masamune, Sadamune, Sukesado, Iwami class.

Oblique file and round head.

*Artists* : Munechika, Hisakuni, Mitsukane, Dakuma, Tomonari, Sukekane, Nobufusa, Chikakane, Norimune, Sukemune, Muneyoshi, Nobufusa I and II, Yoshiie, Yoshihira, Koresuke, Sukekane, Sukeyoshi, Sukemitsu, Mitsutada, Moriie, Sanemori, Nagamitsu, Kagemitsu, Kanemitsu, Nagayoshi, Yoshimitsu, Tomomitsu, Sanenaga, Hide-mitsu, Moromitsu, Masamitsu, Motomitsu, Motomasa, Kagemasa, Motoshige, Chikakage, Shigezane, Morikage, Kageyasu, Sukekuni, Yoshii class, Kunimune, Sadahide, Yukihira, Ohara Sanemoni, Norinaga, Later Miike.

#### THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW SWORD.

Some prefer the old, while others admire the new sword. Although the old abounds in excellence, some covet the spotless and brilliant blade of the new sword. Work less than one

hundred years old, no matter how celebrated its maker, cannot obtain a certificate from Honnami. The price of the new sword increases as it becomes old; for instance, the works of Morimitsu and Yasumitsu which, a few years ago, were worth 30 ryo, are now selling at 50 ryo, and those of Sanemasa and Sukehiro have increased in value from 1 or 2, to 5 or 7 ryo. There are several reasons why the old sword is the more valuable. The wound inflicted by it is difficult to cure, though it be but a scratch one inch deep; while that made by a new sword heals easily even if it be deep. We know that the narrow, thin blade of the old sword is far sharper than the strongly made blade of the new. This is generally true, although there may be a few exceptions. At this time there are many fraudulent old swords made by whetting away the blade of the new sword. This is readily done, as the appearance of the welded edge of the modern blade is easily changed, and thus the 'midare' may appear a 'straight' and a 'straight' may become like 'a midare.' Old swords never change their character, Ichimoji always remaining Ichimoji however much it is whetted.

In the book "Notes on the New Sword," it is said, that "we must be well acquainted with the art of sword-cutlery or we become as the archer who is ignorant of the nature of the bow, or the doctor who does not understand medicine." The author further gives the details of cutlery concerning the new sword with which there is no difficulty. In the matter of whetting, we must admire it even if it be made to-day. We admire the old sword the more as its 'heat color' is lost with age and as its stuff iron presents peculiar marks, showing the lapse of 500 or 800 years. We can understand its meaning only by the study of the method of whetting. Of course the knowledge of cutlery is not positively useless. But even the Honnami of every generation do not study cutlery, while they are all perfectly acquainted with the modes of whetting. There are some men who commit the examination of their sword to a smith. But the arts of cutlery and judgment being quite different, the latter cannot be acquired without its special study.

The method of sword judgment relates almost exclusively to the old sword, but we can easily judge new blades without the knowledge of its rules. Many of the new swords bear the inscription of the maker. The structure of the nakago is very

simple, being exactly similar to their pictures in the sword book. There are many very skillfully forged blades which have often obtained a better price than genuine work, for the reason that their value is fluctuating. This will be the case more frequently in the future.

Some new swords resemble the old work, and are much boasted of, but it is rather contrary to the purpose of the new sword, that being valuable only because it is new. The works of Sukehira and Sanemasa are noble, fresh, and lively. We appreciate old swords that look new, but the new swords that look old from the beginning become useless after the lapse of a few hundred years. Even the old blade of which the welded edge is not clearly seen is useless. However slender its edge, good work will appear lively and newer than it really is. Some maintain that the new sword will benefit posterity, serving it as the "old," while the old sword will not be useful to future generations, having fulfilled its purpose. This seems reasonable. Still, always to select the new sword from such a motive is to sacrifice one's own welfare for posterity. This is very foolish, and may jeopardize one's life.

#### THE BLESSED SWORD.

What is called "blessed sword" is not blessed by its maker, but by its owner. However excellent its quality may be, it will not produce any good, if its owner be not a good man.

It is thought that through the possession of a certain sword one may obtain blessings, or that calamities will come, but there is no ground for this belief. After all, the ruin or misery of a man is produced by his own bad conduct and not by the influence of his weapons. The good man will naturally come into possession of a good sword, while the bad man, if a blessed blade fall into his hands, will presently be moved to part with it.

The object of sword-judgment is not only to recognize its maker, but to decide the good or bad qualities of his work. As a good servant will not serve a bad master, so must our conduct be upright if we wish to possess the 'blessed sword' which promotes our welfare.

It is understood by all men that the sword is the instrument by which the state has been governed from the dawn of time. The oldest existing sword is 'Amakuni,' which was made over



1000 years ago. No one knows what sword was in use before that time. The killing of men by the government is inevitable, as it diminishes the number of bad men and increases the number of good ones. If we could control without killing it might be called a peaceable government, but it is only maintained by the precious sword in our heart, which, killing the evil thoughts, will lead to the blessed condition. Be it the individual, the family, or the state, its good or evil condition will be produced by the righteousness or the unrighteousness of their respective swords.

Some are rather afraid of possessing a blessed sword, but as it is a most precious guard of our lives, we must choose as good-souled a sword as possible.

Some superstitious men insist that good or evil fortune will result from a certain measure of the sword. We only ask such men what good or evil fortune ever resulted from the differing statures of men.

Some even dislike the swords that bear inscriptions relating to Hachiman (the god of war), or to Buddha, the lotus flower, or Sanskrit letters, and it will be wholly useless to tell these foolish ones that such an idea is quite unfounded.

### CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE SWORDS.

All swords are classified and grouped under the province or the school to which they belong. We shall treat, in the following pages, of the characteristics of such groups and those of the individual maker.

#### I. YAMATO CLASS.

The general characteristics are as follows:

(a) Long sword: Blade slender; ridge wide and high; some are bent in the center; regular woody mark; cap closely welded; some have the three-angled back; Iori is generally hill-shaped. The general features of engraving and point are rather eccentric.

(b) Short sword: Always straight; file-marks of the nakago differ. Even the works of the same master have 'Higaki,' 'hawk's feather,' or 'crosswise oblique file,' etc.; this being particularly true of inferior makers.

(1) Amakuni, born in Uta in the era of Taiho.

Blade slender; ridge wide; Iori deep; woody mark very fine; skin beautiful; edge abounds in boiling marks; point closely welded; feet of the 'small midare' type; some are of 'Notare midare.'

(2) Amakura, identical with Amakuni.

Blade considerably bent; ridge wide; Iori deep; stuff-iron highly tempered. The welded edge is small at the hilt and has 'medium midare' here and there, two or three inches above the hilt (whose reverse feet are well welded), and is closely welded in the point; somewhat slender at the sides (where there is no reflex line). Both body and edge are admirably well made, and although the back is angled in the nakago, it appears to be round at the first glance. File-marks in the plain are of different kinds, some even having hammer-marks. The head of the nakago is either curved or angular. Some have the points of their angles rounded.

(3) Tomomitsu, in the era of Wado.

The feature of this blade is its dryness; ridge wide; regular woody lines very fine; edge of 'midare,' which is small in the hilt, but wide in the middle, (some, however, are small). Far inferior to Amakuni and Amakura.

(4) Yasunori, in the era of Eien.

Blade thick and straight; ridge high; Iori hill-shaped; regular woody marks very fine; boiling marks abundant; body and edge beautiful; quality medium.

(5) Yukihiro, in the era of Eien.

Blade slender and dry; ridge wide; back thin; regular woody line; slender, straight edge, of 'small midare,' or 'Notare midare'; it boils; back round; resembles the work of Bungo Yukihiro; the inscription consists of two letters of "So" type (i. e. italic).

## II. TAYEMA CLASS.

(a) In general, this class belongs to the genuine Kurihara. Some halberds have furrows; works of Senjuin sometimes contain very skillfully engraved figures, but are generally undorned; Ken (double-edged sword) has its point acute and its furrows deeply cut.

(b) Nakago is thicker towards the edge; file-marks are of different kinds; it may also have the crosswise Higaki. The name is inscribed on the uppermost part of the nakago.

(c) The blade of the short sword is thick and straight. It is wider towards the nakago. Some have the three-angled back; most are of the Ukubi-shape. Generally the furrow is not present. With the Ken type the furrow, sculpture, etc., are rarely found.

(1) Tayema, in the era of Shomu.

Blade thick; ridge high; width either medium or narrow; Iori deep; fine, regular, woody lines; pear's skin; rough boiling marks. 'Straight edged' is narrow in the hilt and wide toward the point, boils well, point closely welded, sometimes containing reflex line.

The short sword is slightly bent and wide. In other particulars it resembles the long sword. The file-marks are of different kinds; nakago is narrow towards the head; inscriptions in Ken-shape are rarely seen. The Tayema family includes many generations, such as Kuniyuki, Tashiyuki, etc., of which a minute account will be found in their "genealogy."

(2) Shirikake. That is Norinaga, in the era of Kencho.

Blade slender; ridge wide and high; bent at the center; regular and irregular woody lines; Iori deep; straight midare; mixed 'Gunome' edge; 'lightening' and 'boiling marks.'

The small sword is always straight. Ridge and Iori high; straight edge type; its welding and engraving are identical with that of Tayema.

Nakago is thick in the back; file-marks crosswise; (later work, however, has a somewhat oblique filing); head generally angle-shaped; back straight. The same inscription, which has been in use for many generations, is "made by Norinaga," or "made by Yamato Norinaga"; later it was changed to "made by Norinaga of the province of Yamato," or "made by Shirikake Norinaga of Yamato."

(3) Senjuin, in the era of Chokei.

Blade much bent; ridge high and wide; back round; though the welding is scarcely visible, it shows a regular woody grain; 'straight edge' having 'small feet'; point medium.

The structure of the short resembles that of the long sword.

File-mark of the nakago is oblique on the ridge, crosswise on its plain, or, in some cases, the crosswise mark is two or three inches above the hilt, accompanied by a 'great oblique' file near the point; the back is a much rounded angle; head is

rounded angle. Later works have both Higaki and crosswise; thick round head and angle back. The inscription reads, "Senjuin," "Senjuin Dōin," "Yamato nokuni Soegamigori," or the maker's true name. There are many generations from Yukinobu and Shigihito, the founders of the house of Yasushige and Yoshihito, etc. The wide midare bears a great resemblance to the Kamakura class.

(4) Kanenaga, in the era of Teiō.

Blade long; bent in center; ridge high and uncommonly wide; Iori deep; body thick towards hilt; peculiar regular woody lines; cap loosely welded or round, sometimes has reflex line; 'medium straight,' 'wide straight,' or 'midare edge'; generally the welded edge is wide at the point; boiling is abundant and coarse, occasionally, however, it is clear and fine; glory deep; some have welded back. Short swords are rarely seen among the old blades. Works of various masters having similar inscriptions are numerous. The older works are superior.

The file-mark of the nakago is hawk's feather; back round; round head. Some of the works of Kanetoshi are filed crosswise.

### III. SENGAI CLASS.

This class includes many makers. The furrow is rare, and the general features resemble Kanenaga. Has regularly woody lines; both straight and midare edge; caps of different kinds, with some having deep reflex lines.

The short sword is generally straight, with a thick body, the back sometimes being triangular; irregular woody lines occur and the edge of the later work has a coarse, unlovely margin; some blades have no boiling marks, while others have scattered lines. Further details resemble Kanenaga. Some blades are adorned with engraving and carving.

There are middle-sized short swords; their file-marks are oblique, or frequently Higaki.

(1) Kaneuji, in the era of Enhei.

Also called Yamato Shidzu. Ridge high and wide; Iori medium; point small; regular woody lines; perfect skin; of the straight, 'small gunome,' or 'midare' type; deep glory; rough, minute boiling marks; scattered lines occasionally appear: caps vary.

The short sword is either straight or curved; backs differ; widths and bodies vary, some have carved designs. In other respects they resemble the long swords.

The back of the nakago is either wide or round; file-marks crosswise, a trifle oblique, or Higaki; head round; furrow rare. Kaneuji became a disciple of Masamune and lived in Shidzu in Mino.

(2) Yoshimitsu, in the era of Reio.

His long sword is rare. The short sword is short; dry in point; thick toward hilt; no boiling; both edge and back of the nakago round; slender towards the point; round head; the inscription consists of two initials. No resemblance to Yoshiro.

(3) Yasumasa Goro, in the era of Shōan.

The most brilliant work of the Yamato class; ridge wide and high; bent in center; Iori hill-shaped; regular woody lines; cap closely welded; along the margin of the cap the welding mark may gradually be discovered; edge straight and slender towards the hilt; sometimes has a little midare; occasional scattering lines or boiling marks.

The short sword is straight and thick in the body. The same is true of the long sword in every respect.

The nakago is round in back; file-mark of Higaki; rounded head. The latter work sometimes bears the oblique file-mark, which, although it has lengthwise split, is not considered flawed. It is said that with some swords the regular woody lines are present, but invisible; also that some blades are made wholly of steel. Engraved designs are rare.

(4) Hasebe Kunishige.

He lived in Sagami, Yamashiro, Kawachi, Settsu, and Yamato. He was included in the Yamato class in the ancient books, but is now spoken of as belonging to the Kyo class.

(5) Uta.

His school is included in the Settsu-chu class. He was a native of Yamato, but later made his home in Etchu.

#### IV. KYO CLASS.

The general features of this class are as follows:

(a) Long sword. Blade well bent; equal in hilt and point; medium Iori and point; both regular and irregular woody lines are noble; boiling abundant; glory deep. This Choji-midare

closely resembles the work of Bizen and Ichimoji; cap straight-edged; back round, sometimes showing a welding mark. Some have long and sharply defined Sanskrit letters; point slightly rounded; furrow reaches to hilt.

The short sword is nearly always straight. File-marks are generally crosswise, excepting in the works of Sadatoshi, which have great oblique filing. Ancient blades of highest quality, whose file-marks are invisible, greatly resemble each other, whether they be the work of Kyo, Yamato, Bizen, Kamakura, or others.

(1) Munechika, in the era of Eien.

Ridge somewhat wide; some swords have the furrow, while others contain Ken, Gomaheshi, etc. Width and thickness medium; Iori medium. All blades have very minute and beautiful regular woody lines, which, when closely examined, present a peculiar and incomparable individuality of appearance.

The short sword is straight and of the "Shobu type." There are also medium-sized short swords, which have 'small feet' in the straight edge, or 'small midare' and 'notare.' In some the welded edge is slender at the center and wide in the upper part; some are welded with strong boiling in the margin.

The nakago is round in the back and slender in the point; file-mark crosswise or oblique; head of the obtuse angle type. The inscription is "Sanjo Munechika," "Sanjo," "Munechika," "Nippon ichi," "Yukizane," or "Bungo Yuki."

Other work having the same inscription is found in Iga. These have the file-mark crosswise in the ridge and oblique in the plain. Its quality is inferior.

(2) Yoshiye, in the era of Eien.

He is believed to be the son of Munechika, but some say that he adopted another name, assumed by that master. The features of the blade are identical with Munechika; no short sword; regular woody lines; Iori shallow; furrow rare; some of 'small Notare midare' type; frequently the slender, straight edge has 'small feet;' its 'Choji edge' resembles the 'Kiku' type; abundant boiling; deep glory; perfect skin; sometimes the edge widens toward the hilt; cap large and round, with little reflex lines; file-mark crosswise; back thick; head round. In the inscription, "Bizen," Yoshiye used the word "created," but Sanjo used the word "made."

(3) Arikuni, in the era of Eien; disciple of Munechika.

Blade slender; ridge high; fine, regular, woody lines; Iori somewhat shallow; small and boiling midare. The skillful structure of this sword at once proves its right to be included in the Kyo class.

(4) Sadatoshi, in the era of Bunei; lived in Ayakaji.

Ridge wide; Iori shallow; has 'Choji edge' on a small scale, and also Choji mixed with 'straight edge;' deep glory. Occasionally the edge is wider in the hilt and possesses some midare. Although it resembles the work of Bizen Ichomoji, it has more abundant boiling marks. Its 'Choji midare' resembles that of Yoshiye, and has some scattered lines; round with reflex lines. The short sword is rare. The back of the nakago is thick; file-mark great oblique; round head: inscription is in Sō type.

(5) Kanenaga, in the era of Chogen; lived in Gojo.

The features of his blades resemble those of Arikuni, his father. Furrowed, point small; 'Choji edge;' 'midare' or 'fine midare;' bears resemblance to Sadatoshi; the end of the 'midare' boils; deep glory; somewhat lurid spotted skin. The short sword is rare; file-mark crosswise, or a trifle oblique; head round.

(6) Kuninaga, in the era of Jireki, son of Kanenaga.

His work resembles that of Sadatoshi; Iori deep; ridge high; skillful midare; back of the nakago thick; file-marks small and oblique.

(7) Kuniyuki, in the era of Shogen; called Raitaro.

Blade considerably bent; Iori medium; regular woody grain; tempered but lurid skin, furrowed; the 'Choji edge' contains abundant midare in the hilt; wide and straight for six or seven inches upward from the hilt,—in some there are 'small feet' at this part, and more at from five to one or two inches above the hilt; cap round and straight-edged. The back may or may not show scattered lines; boiling mark fine; glory deep; blade slender. It might be confounded with the Bizen class, though it differs from it in its abundant boiling and varying features. The short sword is rare. The back of the nakago is thick; file-marked crosswise; thick in its plain and mostly round headed. Inscription consists of the two letters of his name in large type. He never inscribes the word Rai.

(8) Kunitoshi, in the era of Seiō; called Niji Kunitoshi.

General features resemble Kuniyuki; edge has midare in the hilt and upper part. In some cases the wide, straight edge has 'feet,' in others the 'Choji edge.' There are also blades of welded back, 'reverse feet,' 'straight edge' and the 'notare midare.' In 'sugukas,' it does not boil so much as in 'midare.' The nakago is like that of Kuniyuki. The inscription does not contain the letter Rai. These may be classified as the higher, the middle, and the lower types. His signature has often been forged, as is also the case with Rai Kunitoshi.

(9) Rai Kunitoshi, the same province as Kunitoshi.

Blade slender; ridge wide; point and Iori rather deep; the regular woody grain somewhat lurid; boils well, and has deep glory; generally straight; rarely has 'midare edge' of 'Gonome type;' cap round.

The short sword is straight, generally narrow, but widening toward the hilt; deep reflex line. Other features are identical with the long swords. Sanskrit letters in running type; 'Ken' is vaguely marked in the sides, but has middle ridge.

The back of the nakago is angular; file-marked crosswise; thick back. The inscription consists of the word "Rai Kunitoshi;" often in small type, though found in many other types. It is said that he changed the form of his inscription six times, (consult the catalogue of the Nakago), sometimes inscribing himself "Rai Minamoto Kunitoshi."

(10) Rai Kunimitsu, in the era of Shōan.

Blade bent in the middle part and thick; Iori shallow; regular woody lines; soft stuff-iron; texture fine, showing irregular spots; skin lurid; point slender; edge straight, straight having 'small feet;' 'notare midare,' 'small midare;' or the wide, straight edge of the 'Choji type,' or the one resembling Kuniyuki; boils well; deep glory; welded back; round cap. It is said that the beautiful midare was made in his youth, while the 'straight' was constructed in his old age.

Some of the short swords are made straight and others curved; of the 'straight edge' or 'notare type;' reflex lines, rather deep; boiling marks very fine; glory deep; other points are like the long sword. Some have very beautiful thread-like welding lines; file-mark is crosswise; the head round or bent. The inscription consists of three letters of "Rai, Kuni mitsu," or of the four letters of "Rai Minamoto Kuni mitsu."



(11) Rai Kunitsugu, in the era of Kagen; it is said that he came from Kamakura.

Blades different sizes, mainly large, medium and small.

There is also the Tachi sword, (the largest one of all, borne only by a commander); regular woody lines; lurid skin; small point; shallow Iori; some having triangular back; figures brilliantly cut; furrow wide and shallow; edge is of 'notare'; resembling, but far outshining Kunimitsu; some have midare in the hilt; welded back; abundant boiling; glory deep; boiling mark fine in the midare.

The short sword is not curved; it has a wide body and peculiar furrow of the so-called Kunitsugu type. Blades have notare edge; caps of different kinds; glory deep, and boiling midare, rarely of straight edge type. In other respects they resemble the long swords.

The back of the nakago is angular; has crosswise file-mark, and head round; backs round in some swords. Inscription consists of the three letters of "Rai Kuni tsugu" or of the four letters of "Rai Minamoto Kuni tsugu." In his latter years he became a disciple of Masamune.

(12) Tomokuni, in the era of Sho-wa.

The short sword is bent and rather flat; has Iori and triangular back; figures of different kinds; 'great notare' edge; sometimes has 'dewy balls'; boils well; cap has deep reflex lines; some resemble Shizu Sadamune. Some blades are longer and flatter than others. The long sword is rare; file-mark crosswise; head round.

(13) Mitsukane, in the era of Sho-wa. He is called "Chudo Rai" or "Tatsu Rai" because he made his swords in a Chudo (temple) in Tatsu of Omi province. He was first a disciple of Bizen Nagamitsu, and later of Kunitoshi.

Long swords are never found. The short sword droops somewhat; thick body; deep Iori and back; sometimes has triangular back; very fine, regular woody lines of the straight edge type; little midare; cap has deep 'reflex lines' and is rounded in the middle; rich boiling; thick back; file-mark crosswise; round head; inscription consists of the two letters of his name. Some have figures. There is a decided individuality in the cap of each of his blades.

(14) Ryokai, in the era of Shoo; son of Kunitoshi; a disciple of Sadatoshi.

Blade slender; ridge high; fine, regular woody grain; furrowed, shallow back; some of triangular back type; small point. The edge is 'straight'; 'straight having small feet'; 'small midare,' that resembling Kunitoshi, or that having scattered lines and a wide edge at the hilt; boiling rich and fine; glory deep; cap round; reflex line deep.

The short sword of the straight type, thick; some a trifle longer than others; straight edge; is of both Shobu and Ukubi types; there are also medium sized swords.

The back of the nakago is angular; file-mark crosswise; generally a round head. His popular name is "Mitsushige," "Ryohai" being his religious name.

(15) Nobukuni, there are three generations—Kenbu, Teiji, and Ōei.

The structure is of the furrowed and the 'back' type; irregular woody lines; lurid skin; shallow Iori; some have a triangular back and small point; figures frequently occur which are not distinctly cut; some have the welded back. Swords are of both notare and midare and of straight type; boils well; glory deep; cap round.

The short sword is straight, rarely bent; some are long. There are also middle-sized swords of both the Ukubi and the Shobu types. In other respects they are identical with the long sword. Some bear a resemblance to Sadamune.

As for the works of Teiji and Ōei, the short sword is straight and thick, may be of either straight or midare type; has triangular or Iori back; the figure and also Sanskrit letters are of many kinds and designs, such as the spade-shaped lotus flower, and Amakurikara; the edge is generally wider toward the hilt, and in some cases the end resembles the work of Sagami or Bizen, the chief difference being that generally its 'feet of midare' form a round group, by twos or threes. The back of the nakago is thick; file-mark crosswise, oblique; mostly round-headed. Later blades are round-backed. Of the work of the three generations of Nobokuni, the first is superior. Many swords bear identical inscriptions of "Genzaemon," "Gengoro," etc. Among the older works some have their signature deflecting low toward the left. Later works have the word Kuni, wide at the foot. (Consult the catalogue of the nakago.)

(16) Hasebe, in the era of Reio: called Kunishige.

Blade slender; point small; mostly a triangular back; Iori shallow. In some cases the back is round and the blade furrowed; irregular woody texture; beautiful but lurid skin. Its figures are Ken, Sanskrit letters of spade-shaped lotus flower, Amakurikari, etc., which are of many varieties, but loosely designed and unskillfully carved; many swords resemble the blades of Hiromitsu, Akihiro, Nobukuni, etc., but there is always a strong individuality of the cap and kayeri (reflex). The cap generally has a woody texture; but sometimes possesses the straight edge.

The short sword is curved; wide and thin; some are straight-edged, and exceedingly thin; many are of the elongated, flat type; kayeri is very deep. In other respects they resemble the long swords.

The back of a nakago is round; file-mark crosswise; point slender; head round. The letter Kuni differs from the usual form. He was a disciple of Masamune.

The works of Kuninobu and his school resemble the blades of Hasebe, but are vastly inferior.

(17) Heianjo, in the era of Bunwa.

Blade thin and considerably bent; backs vary; Iori shallow; small or sometimes middle-sized point; of the great notare edge; deep kayeri; cap round, with boiling marks; figures in great variety, such as Kurikara. The works of Mitsunaga have 'great notare' and 'small, mixed midare.' Some occur which are of the straight type toward the point, but of 'midare of the notare,' and 'Gunome' toward the hilt. Those of Hitatsura are rare.

The short sword is longer, bent and thin. In other respects it resembles the long sword.

The back of the nakago is round; file-marks crosswise, or sometimes small oblique; head round; slender point.

(18) Masamune (Darma), in the era of Bunkwa.

Mostly round-backed; regular woody texture; small midare; fine notare; some boiling; round cap; rather flat; little kayeri. The short sword is of the straight type. In other respects resembling the long swords.

The back of the nakago is round; file-mark crosswise or oblique; head round. The inscription consists of the two letters, the letter Masa being of thin type. It may also be

inscribed as "Kunishige," "Shigemitsu," "Darma Nyudo," "Darma," etc. The point of the nakago is slender.

#### V. AWADAGUCHI CLASS.

Blade slender; fine, regular, woody texture or a beautiful irregular, woody texture; the most beautiful example of the Kyo class; stuff-iron, hard and glittering; body blue and edge white; has abundant boiling, both rough and minute; edge not broad; edge is the 'straight, middle notare,' 'small midare of Choji type,' with the 'feet' of 'small Choji'; is noble as becomes so celebrated a name; not easily confounded with any other work. Figures are grand, skillfully and deeply cut. Sanskrit letter slender, widening towards the foot; furrow round-ended, deep and fine in its point; mostly triangular back.

The back of the nakago is angular, a trifle slender, full in some blades; filing-mark crosswise, oblique, or great oblique; mostly round head.

##### (1) Kunitomo, in the era of Genreki.

Blade slender and curved toward the hilt; ridge a trifle thin; body thick; Iori deep; back triangular; regular woody texture; fine, beautiful skin; straight edge has rich boiling; the double edge also occurs; round cap; welded back.

The structure of the short sword droops somewhat and is narrower; Iori medium. In other respects resembles the long swords.

The back of the nakago is round; file-mark crosswise oblique; mostly round head; inscription is "Kunitomo," "Fujibayashi Kunitomo," or the initial.

##### (2) Norikuni, in the era of Kempō.

The long sword is rare. Blade slender and considerably curved; welding fine; triangular back; medium Iori; edge of 'slender straight,' or of the 'notare' type; boils well; no kay-eri; close welding; fine point; some show a fine woody texture on the edge. His straight-edged swords are said to be superior to the midare types.

The short sword is of the straight type, rather smaller; middle or slender, straight edge; boils finely; cap round; carved figures resemble those of Awadaguchi.

The back of the nakago is thick; crosswise file; round head.

##### (3) Kuniyoshi, in the era of Kwangen.

The short sword is of the straight make; body medium; triangular back; same figure as Awadaguchi; mostly furrowed; fine, beautiful skin; 'Futsura' plentiful; of slender, straight edge or straight edge; cap round; some blades closely resembling Yoshimitsu's work. Tachi (the great commander's sword) is rare; slender and straight-edged. In other points resembling the short sword.

The back of the nakago is angular; file-marks crosswise; round head.

(4) Yoshimitsu, in the era of Bunei, the son of Kuniyoshi, called Toshiri.

The short sword is of the straight type, though somewhat drooping, narrow and small; of uniform medium thickness; triangular back; middle Iori; fine; beautiful stuff-iron, with a peculiar texture of skin; some closely welded; of the brilliant, straight-edged type, which is slender about the hilt; wider in the middle, and closely and strongly welded at the point. In some cases it has 'small midare' toward the hilt; 'straight edge' at the point, and finally welded at the Fukura; sometimes with midare; cap round; some have the 'flaming end'; it is said that those blades of which the kayeri is shallow are sure to have no cap which is not round and no hilt which is not straight-edged; boiling mark fine and coarse; glory deep; pre-fatory welding is done before the edge is welded; the same figures as Awadaguchi. He made but few long swords, all of which are slender; ridge high; furrow reaching to the hilt; midare edge; in other points resembling the short swords; angular nakago back; round head; file-mark crosswise, and beautiful, but almost invisible.

(5) Hisakuni, in the era of Genreki; called Yoshiro.

Slender blade; small point; a little wider ridge; medium breadth and thickness; generally triangular back; Iori and furrows rare; fine, beautiful skin; 'middle straight edge' or 'small midare edge'; rich boiling; clear edge; sometimes having deep 'feet' at the centre; round medium cap; some closely welded.

The short sword is both straight and bent; medium breadth and thickness; triangular back; Iori deep; in other respects resembling the long swords. Most blades have Awadaguchi figures.

The nakago is thick in back; file-mark great oblique or small oblique; point slender; head round.

(6) Kuniyasu (Tosaburo), in the era of Genreki.

Slender blade; point small; Iori medium; rarely furrowed; is of 'small midare,' combined here and there with 'Choji;' has also 'boiling,' 'lightening,' 'scattering mark,' 'balls,' etc. Some have a 'straight edge,' combined with a 'little midare'; cap round.

The short sword is rarely found, and is of the straight type.

Nakago is thick in the back; file-marks great oblique; round head.

(7) Kunikige, the same as above; called Shirōbyoye.

Blade resembles that of Kuniyasu; triangular back, wide in the middle; uneven texture; straight edge, similar to Kuniyoshi. But long and short swords are closely welded at the point. The file-mark is oblique.

(8) Arikuni (Togoro), the same province as Kunikige.

Blade slender and considerably bent; ridge high; similar to Kunitomo; skin fine; texture almost invisible; have nakago obliquely filed; has the 'black spot,' like the Bit-chū class; some with irregular, woody lines; slender, straight edge; boils; has glory and 'chikei;' cap round; nakago with thick back; file either crosswise, oblique or great oblique. He later lived in Kamada of Omi.

(9) Kunitsuna, called Sakonshogen Goroku; in the era of Kencho; afterward emigrated to Sagami.

Blade slender and long; point closely welded; ridge a little wider; Iori shallow; furrowed specimens are rare; edge of the wide, straight-edge type, with the small midare of the Choji type, although some have the midare near the hilt; boiling mark rough; also with 'chikei,' 'lightening,' or 'sunagoshi'; the waist edge is one or two inches above the hilt and comes like smoke from the welded mark, although in some specimens it occurs as usual; in wide edge, this will be seen by turning the blade one or two inches.

The short sword has no pointing at the waist edge; kayeri is deep; boiling especially rich; both the edge and the stuff-iron brilliant; nakago with round back; file, crosswise oblique; plain, thick; head round.

(10) Kunimitsu, in the era of Kwangen.

Ridge high; welded mark fine and highly tempered; slender, straight-edge type; beautiful boiling mark; inscription of the Sō type.

(11) Kikuzukuri, in the era of Genreki.

Some say his blades were really made by the Emperor Gotoba. The blade resembles Norimune's work; ridge make; Iori and back shallow; point small; very beautiful skin; 'choji edge;' some combined with the 'reverse feet;' has 'balls,' 'lightening' and 'chikei;' some specimens have a fanciful midare; deep glory; rich boiling. The nakago, being made by Norimune and others, has no definite file-mark; round head. In the hilt the figure of the Kiku (chrysanthemum) is cut, its diameter being 45 sun, and the number of its petals being 16, 24, or 32. This is most curious work.

(12) Nakajima Rai, in the era of Embun; three generations of Rai Kuninaga worked with him; lived in Settsu.

The furrowed blade and point present several varieties; regular woody line; shallow Iori; triangular back; middle, straight edge; round cap; with glory and boiling; resembles the inferior works of Kunimitsu.

The short sword is of the bent type; breadth medium; with both straight edge and midare; cap of various forms; furrow and back of many sorts; file crosswise; head generally round.

## VI. KAMAKURA CLASS.

Blade rather wide; ridge narrow, and slightly bent; point rather long; Iori deep; triangular back, with a wide center; irregular woody lines; wide edge; rough boiling and 'sunagoshi' (scattered line); cap large; 'kayeri' deep; welded mark; square Sanskrit letter; chisel mark, wide; rather long; point sharp. The Sankodzuka has its 'Tagane' more shallow than in the 'Ken.' The furrow does not reach the top of the small ridge; furrow point droops in order to widen the appearance of the edge and is unusual; toward the hilt it is smoothed away or ends brokenly. The ornamental figures incline to the center.

The short sword presents varied types, chiefly straight before Sadamune, but after his period either straight or bent; file crosswise or crosswise-oblique; back angular; sometimes round; head both angular and round.

(1) Kunimune, in the era of Kochō; called Saburo; born in Bizen, and the ancestor of Sagami.

His work is described under the Bizen class; edge with either small or large midare, the latter sometimes having a stain, and some being slightly boiled. In all other respects his work is like that of the Bizen class.

(2) Kunimitsu, in the era of Shōō; son of Awadaguchi Kunitsune and a disciple of Kunimune; called Shintogo.

The short sword is of the straight type, but rather narrow; triangular back, with wide center and deep declivity; fine and beautiful irregular woody lines, although lurid in parts; slender straight edge, with fine boiling mark; with 'lightening,' 'chikei,' etc.; edge generally somewhat narrow at the hilt, widening toward the point; woody texture on the edge; cap round; 'kayeri' deep; figure, Ken; Sanskrit letter, furrow and Gomahashi; specimens without a figure are rare.

Tachi and long swords are rare; point quite narrow, but in all other respects like the short sword; nakago with round back; file crosswise; head round.

(3) Kunishige, in the era of Shōma; called Shin Togoro.

His blades are like those of his father, Kunimitsu, but the edge is broader and the cut of the Sanskrit letter is more shallow.

(4) Kunihiro, of the same province as Kunishige.

Blade rather wide; generally with middle straight edge; figure larger and more free, somewhat resembling the work of Rai Kunitsuge, but in all other respects like the blades of his father, Kunimitsu, although his nakago is wider and thicker in the end than the work of his father and brother (Kunishige). The two brothers afterward inscribed as Kunimitsu.

(5) Sukezane, in the era of Bunei.

Blade wide; ridge narrow; the point rather long, resembling the work of Bizen Sukezane. Some specimens have a round back, and retain striking characteristics of the Kamakura class. He became more skillful after he came to Kamakura. Very brilliant 'Choji midare;' with 'glory;' scattered line; 'balls,' etc., while some blades have 'notare midare,' 'rough boiling,' etc.; file oblique; head round; head rarely angular, or with great 'higaki.'

(6) Yukimitsu, in the era of Bunei; called Tosabura; a disciple of Kunimitsu.



Blade slender and rather long; irregular woody texture; triangular back, wide top and deep or medium declivity; point extremely varied; in type, wide, straight, 'midare,' 'notare,' or 'hitatsura;' boils well; with 'lightening,' 'sunagashi,' or very irregular midare, etc.; cap round; deep 'kayeri.'

The short sword is of the straight type, and very rarely bent; breadth and thickness extremely varied; edge slender towards the hilt; all other details are like those of the long sword; nakago angular in back, or a little rounded; file crosswise; head generally angular, although some specimens show the oblique in the ridge and crosswise in the plain, with round heads.

(7) Masamune, in the era of Shōō and Kenbu; a son of Yukimitsu and a disciple of Sintoō Kunimitsu; called Gorō Nyūdo.

Blade wide and only slightly bent; triangular back with wide top and deep declivity; sometimes with Iori back: point rather long, although the small point also occurs; beautiful irregular woody texture; 'edge midare' or 'notare midare;' boiling rough and rich; with 'lightening' and 'sunagashi;' and, in some specimens, 'balls' resembling 'Chōji' in miniature; some elements of 'small notare;' rich 'glory;' figures in Kamakura style; cap round, sometimes closely welded, or with scattered lines.

The short sword is of the straight type, although sometimes a little bent; breadth and thickness medium; edge slender toward the hilt; in all other particulars the same as the long sword. The back of the nakago is angular; file crosswise or angular. The back of the Tachi's nakago is round, and all blades of his are said to have figure, Ken, and furrows, specimens without figures being rare; the inscriptions consist of two words; although it is said that he signed the 'straight-edge' blades only, not those of 'midare.'

Many varieties of the midare of this artist, such as 'Tanzaku,' 'fan-shaped,' 'opened fan-shape,' 'half-moon,' etc., were classified by the old book, but I have omitted them since they are liable to be confusing to beginners, and similar midare appears in the works of Sukesada and other inferior smiths.

As this celebrated artist made blades of extreme variety, we ought to judge them by their general features, for if we rely only upon their welded marks, which are common to all swords, we shall be greatly deceived; but since he was the great and

matchless swordsmith, his work has some distinctive and characteristic marks.

(8) Sadamune, in the era of Kenbu; called Hikoshiro.

Blade like Masamune's, but somewhat flatter; the same statement holds true of its back, point, and welding; generally furrowed; many are of the 'notare,' 'midare,' and 'ball-edge' type; with rich 'boiling,' 'sunagashi,' and 'lightening.' They greatly resemble the blades of Masamune, but have some elements of 'Notare;' cap round.

The short sword is of the bent type, and wider; some considerably bent, but more thick; some flat specimens are very long and slender toward the hilt; deep 'kayeri,' figure of 'Ken,' Kurikara, Sanskrit letter, etc., in the Kamakura style, or, in other blades, of ancient Nobukuni, etc.; all have figures; back of nakago angular; file oblique; head pointed and angular; some specimens with round back; file crosswise, or crosswise oblique, the file of the back being the same as that of the plain. Once he inscribed as Sukesada. The blades wrought by him at Takagi of Omi are somewhat inferior, and these are inscribed Hiromitsu, and have the same nakago as the Kamakura work.

(9) Hiromitsu, in the era of Kenbu; called Kurojiro.

The short sword is of the bent type, wide and thin; back triangular; top wide; deep declivity; some specimens are extremely long; irregular woody lines; edge of the Hitasura type, with numerous 'balls,' wide toward the point; 'kayeri' deep; cap with boiling, or very irregular midare; back frequently welded; rarely with straight edge. Long swords by Hiromitsu are very rarely seen; they are wide and only slightly bent; ridge somewhat high; furrow deep; quality superior to that of the short sword, which they resemble in all other respects; figures such as Ken, Sanskrit letter, and Kurekara, intricately engraved. Many specimens resemble closely the blades of Hasebe, etc. The back of the nakago is angular; file crosswise; head and back of the blade round; signature 'Hiromitsu, a native of the province Sagami.' The uppermost line of the word Hiro is perpendicular. Another consists of the two letters. This is also the case with Hiromasa. Different men sometimes use the same signature.

(10) Akihiro, in the era of Bunwa; younger brother of Hiromitsu; called Kurosaburo.

The general features of the short sword are the same as the blades of Hiromitsu; midare small; scale large; quality superior; wide sword is very rare; considerably bent and rather slender. The long sword is rare and unskillfully wrought; its blade is much bent and rather narrow; figures numerous and similar to those of Hiromitsu; nakago also the same as Hiromitsu's; signed "Native of Sagami;" the letter Ahi is a Sō type; the under points of the letter Hiro are oblique. He was a disciple of Sadamune. Even those who were not the disciples of Masamune became more skillful after they came to Kamakura than they had been before. Of such men further details are given in the chapter of their genealogy.

(11) Shimada, in the era of Kosei; lived in Suruga; called Yoshisuke.

Blade of various forms, including swords of medium size; Iori rather deep; some specimens show triangular backs and furrows; point varied; irregular woody texture; in type 'notare;' large scale, or Hitasura; some specimens show a richly boiled woody texture, while others have midare of the 'Gunome' type, resembling that of the Sagami class; the straight edge is rarely found; cap is round, has a deep 'kayeri,' and, in some specimens, a scattered midare. The figures are varied.

The short sword is of the slender, straight edge, or of the 'small midare' type; bent wide and shallow, although some specimens are straight and narrow. In all other respects they resemble the long sword; back of the nakago thick; file crosswise; point slender; head round; signature unchanged for many generations.

## VII. MINI CLASS.

Most of the swordsmiths of this class came from Yamato, and their blades, therefore, resemble those of the Yamato class; edge straight or midare with 'feet.' Ancient specimens show the regular woody texture, but modern blades have the irregular woody texture; in the work of the Shizu school we see rich boiling. There are many skillfully wrought blades, even among the later swords; file mark chiefly Higaki or hawk's feather; or, in some specimens crosswise, or the small oblique; head generally round; in the works of Senjuin some blades are crosswise in the plain and oblique in the ridge. Both ancient

and modern swords rarely show the cut and the furrow; ridge usually narrow.

(1) Kaneuji, in the era of Gen Ō; a native of Shizu.

Blade, back, and point vary in form; Iori ordinary; some specimens show the triangular back, the irregular woody texture, and the furrow; boils well; midare somewhat rounded, and some specimens have 'balls'; cap round.

The short sword occurs in various forms, and resembles the long sword; some specimens show the straight edge, which, in its finest instances, resembles Samoji's work. Generally speaking, this school of Masamune is distinguished by its small kirikake. The back of the nakago is thick; file crosswise and Iigaki; head round. There are many generations of the house of Kaneuji, the later ones being inferior. He afterward became a disciple of Masamune.

(2) Kanenobu, a disciple of Kaneuji; called Naoe Shizu.

Edge with 'Gunome midare,' having 'sunagashi,' in the style of the Sheki class; boils well. There is also a school named after Naoye Shizu, who was a native of Shiga in Awari.

(3) Kinju, in the era of Shōō; a disciple of Masamune.

Blade of various forms; Iori ordinary; some specimens have the triangular back and furrow; point and welding varied; irregular woody texture; midare of the notare type, and small 'Gunome'; has boiling and resembles the minor work of Shizu; round cap.

The short sword is wide and bent; straight-edged in some specimens; in all other respects like the long swords. The back of the nakago is thick; file crosswise; head round.

(4) Kirigio, son of Kinju; in the era of Kenbu.

Edge straight combined with 'Gunome,' or the midare of the Notare type; boils finely.

(5) Tametsugu, born in Et-chu; a son of Yoshihiro, and a disciple of Norishige.

The short sword is bent; shallow Iori; triangular back; of the midare type; well boiled or of 'small Gunome,' or of the straight edge form, having 'small feet' or with the edge similar to that of Kinju's; cap round; file crosswise oblique.

(6) Senjuin, in the era of Shōō; lived in Seki.

His blades are generally of the midare type and irregularly boiled; generally retaining the character of the Seki class;

woody texture on the edge, like the work of Shizu and Naoye, and rich boiling like Hitatsura's blades; some specimens resemble the Sagami class; file crosswise, but oblique in the ridge. His native country was Yamato, but he afterward removed to Mino. There were many generations of his house.

(7) Kaneyoshi, in the era of Keireki; called Seki Yoshisada.

Blade slender; ridge narrow; fine; regular woody texture; some swords show the straight edge combined with the 'small midare'; boils slightly; some blades with the Gunome midare; cap round.

(8) Kanesada, in the era of Bunkei.

Midare large; boiling and with deep glory. He was the greatest swordsmith of his age, and his good blades resemble those of Samoji and Shizu.

(9) Hoju, in the era of Teio; a native of Mutsu.

Blade sometimes narrow; point small; Iori shallow; back triangular; irregular woody texture; loose; of the straight, or of the midare type, or else resembling the work of Nobukuni, or of Sheki; some boil, and others not; cap round; figures, the Sanskrit letters, spade-shaped lotus flower, etc., which resemble those of Hasebe, although inferior to his work.

The short sword is either of the straight or the bent type; in all other respects resembles the long sword. The back of the nakago is thick; file crosswise; head round.

(10) Getsusan, in the era of Genō to Meireki; lived in Mutsu or Dewa.

Blade ordinary; small point; furrowed; common Iori; skin the famous 'Ayasugi' (beautiful woody texture of the tree 'sugi'); some do not have this skin, while it appears in others; often split.

The short sword is of various forms; rather small, but sometimes medium; in all other respects resembles the long sword.

The back of the nakago is angular or round; file crosswise, or oblique; head round; edge elevated.

### VIII. NORTH COUNTRY CLASS.

Its boiling mark is mostly deep; has some 'sunagashi'; the scattered line is inferior to the work of other countries, although this is not invariably the case. The later works show deterioration both in shape and in stuff-iron.

(1) Fuyuhiko, in the era of Koshi; lived in Wakasa.

Blade and Iori ordinary; triangular back and furrow; point rather small; some have the woody texture, which is sometimes very beautiful; 'notare straight,' or 'Gunome midare' in type, and either large or wide edge. Some specimens are hard without boiling, while others boil; some have deep 'glory.'

The short sword is of various forms; some are medium in size; others have points like long swords.

The back of the nakago is varied; file crosswise or oblique; head round, and higher toward the edge. He was a grandson of Hirotsugu. Many generations succeeded him.

(2) Kuniyasu, in the era of Ōei; lived in Echizen.

Blade wide and rather thin; Iori deep; back triangular or round; regular woody line; some stiffness will be found in the stuff-iron on account of premature welding; edge of the 'Gunome' type, combined with the 'reverse feet,' or the straight edge, resembling Fujishima's blades; boils; some specimens have the welded back; woody texture on the margin of the edge. The short sword resembles the long; signed Rai Kuniyashu. The back of the nakago is angular; file great oblique. He is called Echizen Rai; born in Kyo, a descendant of Rai.

(3) Morihiko, in the era of Ōei; son of Kuniyasu; lived in Echizen.

Blade wide; edge of the notare type or much scattered notare; back of the nakago round; signature of two letters.

(4) Unozu, in the province of Et-chū.

Blade and point of various forms; furrowed; Iori shallow; back triangular; edge of the great straight or midare type; some specimens are brilliant, and have 'scattered lines,' 'lightening,' etc.; cap varied, some having the irregular midare, and others the round; boils well; some blades are so excellent that they are confounded with the Sagami class; others show the slender, straight edge. The works of Niudo Kunimitsu are the best of this class. Many have the woody texture, and the large, boiled, straight edge, etc., while others look like new swords. The quality of the blades is uneven. Generally we see the 'sunagashi' on the edge, and sometimes the woody texture.

The short sword is of many forms; some are medium in size, while others resemble the long swords. The nakago is some-

times round in the back; file crosswise; head round; signed with the letter Kuni.'

(5) Yoshihiro, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Et-chū.

Blade is long and bent; ridge rather wide; Iori deep; furrowed; point sometimes long, although certain specimens have the small point; irregular woody texture; skin very fine; large and wide notare midare; fine, abundant boiling; deep glory; midare always toward the hilt and broad in the side; cap round; kayeri deep; some blades have the 'straight midare' and are beautiful. The swords of Yoshihiro greatly resemble those of Masamune, but the texture of the latter is rough and active, while that of the former is fine and diffuse; the blade is like the finer work of Masamune.

The short sword is rare; straight type, although some specimens are bent and have the triangular back.

The nakago has an angular back; file crosswise; point sharp, shallow, angular head; signature generally lacking. The swords made by Yoshihiro during his residence in Kamakura and signed Yoshihiro, are called Kamakura Gō. He was a disciple of Masamune. There was another swordsmith called Yoshihiro of the Senjuin class, but his work is very different from that of Yoshihiro of Et-chū.

(6) Norishige, in the era of Seichū; called Gōfukū Gō; lived in Et-chū.

Blade long and considerably bent; ridge rather wide and high; furrowed; deep Iori; triangular back; points varied; irregular woody texture which is very beautiful, and found both on the body and on the edge; some blades have no skin, but are of close and beautiful welding; well-boiled midare; with 'sunagashi,' 'lightening,' or 'notare midare'; only rarely of the straight edge or of the 'large midare' type; cap round and with deep 'kayeri.' When Norishige was a disciple of Yoshihiro, his work had the small ridge and an edge which, melting into the stuff-iron, rose high like smoke. When afterwards he became a disciple of Masamune, his blade became very beautiful, with a strongly welded point.

The short sword is of the straight type, narrow and thick, but in all other respects resembles the long sword. The nakago has an angular back; file crosswise; head round; inscription of the wide cut, although some are cut in the Ken

shape; signed sometimes as Sayiki Norishige, a native of Gofuku, in the district of Nei, of the province of Et-chū.

(7) Sanekage, in the era of Kenbu; a disciple of Norishige; lived in Kaga.

The short sword is bent; Iori common; back triangular; midare combined with 'Gunome,' or with 'boiling notare,' or with 'straight edge,' or with one like the work of Fujishima; cap round and deep; kayeri. The long sword is rarely seen. The back of the nakago is angular; file crosswise; head round; signed Fujiwara. Sanekage was born in Et-chū, but afterward removed to Hōki and Echigo.

(8) Tomoshige, in the era of Rareki; a disciple of Rai Kunitoshi; lived in Fujishima of Kaga.

Ridge narrow; Iori common. Some blades shallow and with triangular backs; point small; of the 'middle Gunome' type, with round or irregular midare, having the straight or the double edge only rarely. No blades of this artist's work are brilliant, and many resemble the swords of the Seki or Bizen class; cap round or irregular.

The short sword is of various forms and similar in structure to the long sword. Some specimens are of medium size. Tomoshige was a native of Echizen. The nakago has an angular back; file crosswise or crosswise oblique; head angular with sides of the edge somewhat long, which is a general characteristic of Kaga.

(9) Nobunaga, in the era of Ōei; lived in Kaga.

Middle Gunome or small Gunome in type, or with an edge resembling Fujishima's work. The short sword has the straight edge. In all other respects his blades resemble those of Fujishima.

(10) Hoseiji, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Yajima; called Kunimitsu.

Blade slender; irregular woody lines; small point; shallow Iori; made many halberds; some of medium size, or of the 'Shōbu' class; edge of the 'Choji,' or 'great midare' type, with 'deep feet'; most specimens are not 'boiled,' but have deep 'glory.' Some blades are of small size, or of the 'Ichimoji' type, or the straight edge. The cap is closely welded. In the case of the halberds the point is usually welded softly for two or three inches. The short sword is rare; but it is straight and narrow.



The nakago has thick back; file crosswise; head rather larger and round.

(11) Kagemasa, in the era of Seiō; lived in Inaba.

Blade slender; ridge high; point small; Iori deep; back sometimes triangular; wide, straight edge. Some specimens are of the 'notare,' or 'midare,' or the 'Seki type,' or with the straight edge and 'feet,' or a little boiled; cap round, or, in some blades, with 'scattered lines.'

The short sword is straight and narrow, generally of the straight edge type. The nakago has an angular back; file crosswise oblique; head round; the letters of the inscription are rather long.

(12) Yasutsuna, in the era of Daidō; lived in Hoki.

Blade long and wide; ridge narrow; point small; Iori either shallow or deep; irregular wooly texture; with 'small midare'; well boiled; has 'lightening' or 'sunagashi.' Some specimens have the notare edge; cap round; noble and giving all evidences of great age; file crosswise; head round; inscription large; 'Ken' and Sanskrit letter deeply cut and short.

(13) Sanemori, in the era of Shōwa; lived in Ohara of Hoki.

Blade long; Iori shallow; point small; lurid, irregular, straight edge, with small midare; some blades show the 'Choji edge' or 'Uchinoke'; boils; cap round; 'Ken' and Sanskrit letters deeply cut; file oblique, either small or large; head round; signature long, wide letters, Ohara Sanemori, of the Province Hoki, or Getsu kei Unkyaku.

(14) Dōei, in the era of Kakitsu; lived in Izumo.

Blade sometimes medium size, and sometimes of the 'Shōbu type'; ridge high; point small; Iori varying with round 'Guinome,' 'midare' or 'Hitatsura,' or having welded back, either with or without boiling, or of the slender and hard, straight edge, or of the type with 'small feet'; with the furrow and the figures cut near the center.

The short sword is both straight and bent; nakagō with the thick, or the angular back; file middle oblique; head generally round.

#### IX. IWAMI CLASS.

There are long swords, medium swords and short swords. The ridge is narrow; point varied; Iori both deep and shallow;

some specimens with triangular back; irregular woody texture; edge of the medium and small Gunome types, or with the notare midare, or with scattered boiling, or with the straight edge; cap varied; figure in the centre, as in Sagami's work. The nakago has the round or angular back; file crosswise oblique or small oblique; head angular, with the longer side toward the edge. In Tadasada's blades, however, the file-mark is the great oblique, while some of Sadasuye's swords show the crosswise file.

(1) Naotsuna, in the era of Kenbu; a disciple of Masamune.

Many of his blades are of large size; point small; cap round. The short sword is bent, while the other forms resemble the Iwami class.

(2) Sadatsuna, in the era of Meitoku.

Most blades with scattered boiling. The short sword is slightly bent; midare of the Utsu type, although some specimens show the 'reverse midare.' In all other respects his swords resemble the work of their class.

(3) Tadasada.

Blade rather wide; of the crowded 'small Gunome,' or of the 'great Gunome' type. The short sword is rarely seen; cap round; in all other respects showing the peculiarities of the Iwami class.

(4) Sadasuye.

The long sword is rare. The medium and short swords are slender and straight; with the straight edge, or, occasionally with midare; cap round. In all other respects these blades resemble the works of the Iwami school.

#### X. · BIZEN CLASS.

(Works before Genreki are spoken of as belonging to the 'Old Bizen' class.)

The blade generally has a strong appearance; bent at the middle; Iori sharp or medium; regular or irregular woody texture. Old Bizen has the round welded marks; boiling fine, never rough, but generally scanty. It has deep 'glory.' The edge is of the 'midare;' the 'Choji,' or the straight edge type having 'feet.' Some have a very close resemblance to the Kyō class, which, however, has richer boiling, a welded back, and not so much curve as the Bizen class; also like the school of

Ichimoji, Rai Kuniyuki, Kunitoshi, or Sadatoshi. Some of the Old Bizen work is like Awadaguchi, having no 'feet' and rarely the 'pure straight edge.' The cap is generally sharp, having kayeri; very rarely round. The figure designs are generally slender; "Kurikara" and "Ken" are mostly cut narrow and placed in the ridge; the Sanskrit letter is unskillfully executed, being open, short, and pointed. Furrow reaches to the small point, furrow point follows the form of the small point of the blade. Most blades have the second furrow which reaches to the nakago. From the era of Hōchi on, the furrows are generally wide and shallow, having a round end. Its 'Ken' has the middle ridge; and Sankozuke is deeply cut. Later works may have boiling or not; some have the woody texture, but, being coarse, may be judged as Bizen work at once; some, too, are like the later Seki works. Welded back is rare, but occasionally it may be found in the later works. Generally the Bizen swords have 'shadow color' on the body, especially in the work of Kanemitsu. The stuff-iron has a woody texture, called the "Bizen skin;" the iron is somewhat soft. The short swords are of different kinds, but Old Bizen and Ichimoji class have no short swords. The file-marks are nearly always oblique, but in some of the Old Bizen and Ichimoji the crosswise mark is found; head mostly round; back round and angular.

(1) Sukehira, in the era of Eien, province of Bizen.

Blade narrow and long; Iori common; regular woody texture; boils well; some have oblique skin at hilt; of the skillfully made 'midare' or the 'large Choji' type, like Norimune, Kumotsugu, etc. Some are of the straight edge, mixed with 'small midare;' point closely welded; back of the nakago thick; file-marks crosswise. Two generations used the same inscription. The first works are superior, and are inscribed as "Bizen no Kuni Sukehira." The letter was written thus (ㇿ). Occasionally it is said, the blades were inscribed "Motohira."

(2) Kanehiro, province of Bizen.

Blade narrow and slender; Iori and ridge, medium; point small; regular, very fine woody line; deep, wide furrow; of 'small midare,' or 'straight edge type' combined with the 'small midare;' boils well; woody texture, 'lightening' or 'Uchiyoke' on the edge; some gay, others gloomy. Some

have a large woody texture on the 'midare,' and sometimes, the oblique skin at the hilt; cap round or closely welded. The back of the nakago is thick; file-marks crosswise; head round. He afterwards lived in Kawachi. Some say that this Kanehiro is a different man, not Kanehiro of the era of Eien; but perhaps that is not so, for it is customary to work differently in a different country.

(3) Sukekane, province of Bizen.

Blade narrow and slender; Iori shallow; regular woody texture; some are furrowed; point small; is of the 'small midare' or the straight edge type, having 'small feet,' although some specimens have 'large midare,' and others have 'balls' and are well boiled; cap round; back of nakago round; file-marks middle oblique; head round. The same inscription is found among the works of the school of Ichimoji. The letters are of large and small types, but lack distinction.

(4) Tomonari, province of Bizen.

Blade long and slender; Iori shallow; some have round back; point small; sometimes the furrow is wide; some have woody texture; the edge is of the 'small midare' type, some having 'reverse feet,' of the straight edge having 'feet,' of the 'small notare edge,' or of the 'Choji edge;' cap round; boils finely, or considerably.

The back of the nakago is round; file-marks crosswise or oblique; head round. On one side the inscription is (reads), '(Long live the Lord)', and on the reverse side "Tomonari of the Province of Bizen." This sword is used in the festival of the Shogun. Other signatures in use are: "Tomonari," "Tomo-nari of the Province Bizen," and "Oho." It is said that there were three men using the same inscription.

(5) Nobufusa, province of Bizen.

Blade not broad; point small; irregular woody texture; boils considerably; of the 'notare' combined with 'Choji' type; none has 'great midare.'

The back of the nakago is thick; file-marks oblique; gradually becomes slender toward the point; inscription consists of the two initials. There were two generations of swordsmiths.

(6) Yoshikane, in the era of Choreki.

Blade strong; Iori shallow; small point active, and with skin; is of the 'middle' or 'wide straight edge' type, having

'small midare,' or of the 'Choji edge;' 'edge hard;' cap has a little midare or is round and has small 'kayeri.' The back of the nakago is thick; file-marks of different sorts; head round.

(7) Masatsune, in the era of Eien.

Blade narrow and long; mostly of the ridge make; Iori shallow; a fine, beautiful, regular woody texture; point small; is of the 'small midare' type combined with 'Choji;' or of the large edge having midare, or of the larger make, or of the 'reverse midare;' has boiling marks.

There were three generations in Bizen that used the same inscription, but the works of the later generations are inferior; works of the second generation have 'small midare;' the third generation has 'small midare' at the hilt, but are of the 'straight edge' type upward from the middle of the blade to the point, which is like Niji Kunitoshi.

The back of the nakago is thick; file-mark crosswise oblique; head mostly round. There were two Masatsunes called "Ino Masatsune," besides the Masatsunes of Bit-chū and Tsukuchi, making five Masatsunes in all.

#### XI. ICHIMOJI CLASS.

There is no short sword. Larger structure is rare; the back of Iori is shallow; mostly of the ridge make; point small; is of 'Choji midare' type; glory deep; boiling scanty; has the 'reverse midare' both large and small; cap round, sometimes it has a welded back.

The back of the nakago is thick; file-marks crosswise; head round. The work of Yoshioka Ichimoji has furrow; point somewhat long; Iori deep. The edge of the midare of his work has less glory than Ichimoji, and is ordinary; file-marks great oblique; straight edge very rarely seen.

(1) Norimune, in the era of Genreki.

Blade slender; ridge narrow; of the ridge make; Iori shallow; point small; fine, beautiful, irregular woody texture like Kyō work; of the 'Choji' edge, having 'balls,' of the 'small midare,' having 'reverse feet,' or 'Uchinoke,' or of that having the broad edge in the point; some boiling mark; very skillfully made.

The nakago has thick back, file-marks great or middle oblique; point slender; head round. Among the Tachi of this

class there are the works made by the Emperor Gotoba, which are known as "Kikugukuri." (The details are given under the Kyō class.) On the swords which Norimune made, while he was in the royal service, he signed himself "Norimune" at the head of the nakago, this being the custom of all the sword-smiths in the royal service. Sometimes he cut the figure of the Kiku (chrysanthemum) flower of sixteen petals above his name, or, again, the word "Ichi" (one). There is another skillful smith in Nagafune who also uses "Norimune." The edge is of the 'midare' in the middle and waist, and of the 'wide straight edge' in the point; fine, regular woody texture, like Masatsune; mostly inscribed as "a native of Nagafune" in a slender type.

The nakago is like that of the royal smith. There are many men who use the same inscription.

(2) Yasunori, in the era of Genreki; son of Norimune.

Blade slender and considerably curved; ridge narrow; Iori deep; of regular woody texture; very fine skin; 'small midare;' boils; like Norimune. Many features are common to both, but the work of the son is far inferior to that of the father.

(3) Sukemune, era of Genreki.

Blade is wide and longer in its point; Iori common; those having the inscriptions are slender; like Kunitoshi (of Niji); of fine, regular woody texture, the 'notare edge' having the 'down feet,' boiling at the point of the 'midare;' some have 'waist edge;' is called Dai (great) Ichimoji; inscription an engraved Kiku (chrysanthemum flower), and the number "Ichi"; file-marks oblique; head round.

(4) Sukenari, the same province as Sukemune.

Blade somewhat wide; Iori common; regular woody lines; 'midare' resembles that of Sukemune. Although his work was inferior when he signed as "Sukeshi," yet he became skillful after he was appointed royal smith.

(5) Sukenobu, the same province as Sukemune.

Blade slender, fine, regular woody lines; 'small midare,' or having fine 'Choji;' boils; has unrefined appearance, but is nevertheless skillfully made.

(6) Nobufusa, the same province as Sukemune.

Blade slender; ridge high; Iori common; regular woody lines; of the 'Choji edge,' having the 'large midare;' boiling fine; sometimes 'small midare.'

The nakago has the round back; file-marks crosswise or oblique; head round.

(7) Nobufusa, the same province as Sukemune.

Blade appears strong; stiff at hilt; Iori common; point small; fine woody texture, of the 'small midare' type, of which some are equal and slender to the top, and others a little wider; sometimes of the 'choji edge' like Norimune. Cap round or closely welded.

The nakago has round back; file-marks crosswise, small or large oblique; head round.

(8) Nobumasa, in the era of Tei ō; son of Nobufusa.

Blade thin and slender, resembling the work of his father; ridge high; Iori deep; regular woody texture; of the skillfully made midare, which is closely welded at the point, and somewhat curved.

(9) Muneyoshi, in the era of Genreki.

Blade slender; Iori shallow; point small; fine and beautiful, regular woody texture; with 'small midare' or 'choji,' having 'balls;' has 'boiling' and 'glory;' cap round; nakago with round back; file crosswise, or small or medium oblique; head round, and generally quite large, with Ichimoji; although in the blades of Norimune and Muneyoshi it is thin and slender.

(10) Yoshimune, a son of Muneyoshi; in the era of Gennin.

His blades are the same as those of Muneyoshi's, although some of his edges are stained.

(11) Yoshimochi, a son of Sukiyoshi; in the era of Bunei.

His blades resemble those of Muneyoshi, but are not brilliant, while some specimens have the straight edge and feet.

(12) Yoshiiye, in the era of Kenreki; the son of Muneyoshi.

Blade slender; Iori common; regular woody lines and fine woody texture; very fine point; with excellent 'choji' which is broad toward the top; some specimens have 'Chikei.' Yoshiiye's work resembles Norimune's, yet some say he is identical with "Sanjo Yoshiiye," whose blades resemble his very closely, although they are entirely different, the Bijen class having the nakago inscribed on the ridge as "manufactured by Yoshiiye" and with the oblique file, while the Sanjo type has the nakago inscribed on the plain as "made by Yoshiiye," and with the crosswise file, besides having its edge well boiled and broad at the hilt.

## (13) Yoshihira, son of Yoshiiye.

Blade curved; ridge high, wide and strong; Iori shallow; point small; beautiful regular woody texture, but a trifle lurid; 'plain Choji edge' in type, having deep 'glory'; some points are broad, while others resemble Moriie's work; some specimens have the 'waist edge,' and others have an edge like a shadow, sometimes invisible and sometimes visible; cap round; back of the nakago thick; file crosswise or oblique.

## (14) Yoshifusa, in the era of Kenpō.

Blade wide; ridge high; Iori deep; point small; regular woody lines; lurid skin; of the 'Choji' type, having 'large reverse midare'; point sharp; some specimens have 'balls,' or the woody texture both on body and edge; 'glory' deep; no boiling; caps closely welded; back of the nakago thick; file great oblique; head round; inscription small.

The three generations of Yoshifusa used the same inscription, but in larger type; all have the 'Choji edge.' There was also another swordsmith of the same name, whose edge is straight and with 'small midare,' while still another lived in Bit-chū, the two being sometimes confounded.

## (15) Yoshimoto; son of Yoshifusa.

His blades resemble those of Yoshifusa; some have 'midare' and 'Choji,' but the edge has a hurried and ordinary appearance. He was an adopted son of Sukeyoshi.

## (16) Sadazane, of the same era as Yoshimoto.

Blade somewhat slender but thick; ridge narrow; Iori deep; fine, regular woody texture with visible 'waist edge'; of the 'notare' type, with brilliant 'reverse feet'; the 'Choji edge' is rare; upper edge broad. In the cap, the round, straight edge has a slight 'kayeri,' and has a hard, loose appearance, with fine boiling marks.

## (17) Chikakane, in the era of Koan.

Blade slender; Iori deep; point small; woody texture; of the 'small midare' type, as in the blades of Bijen, or Yoshihira; midare scanty toward the point; boils gradually; cap round; back of the nakago thick; file oblique.

## (18) Norifusa, in the era of Kenpō; son of Sukefusa; lived in Takatsu; called "Takagama Umanojō."

Blade much curved; ridge thick; Iori common; regular woody texture; stuff-iron with a clear hard back; 'Choji' both



large and small; irregular "feet" which may be seen on the blade, combined with a brilliant 'small midare.'

(19) Koresuke, younger brother of Norifusa.

Iori shallow; point small; rich woody texture; lurid skin; of the straight edge type, with 'small midare'; cap round; back thick; file oblique; head round.

(20) Sukezane, in the era of Buni; younger brother of Koresuke; disciple of Norimune.

Blade is considerably curved and long; ridge average and strong in formation; point and Iori average or shallow; irregular woody texture; skin fine. Some blades have the welded back like the large swords of Ichimoji; 'midare' and 'choji' large; some specimens are well boiled, and the 'choji' of certain ones is very brilliant and noble; edge exquisite and clear; cap round; back thick; file small oblique; head round; inscription bilateral. Sukezane became more skillful after he removed to Kamakura. He was the ancestor of Togenji.

(21) Sukemitsu, in the era of Teiei; called Yoshioka Ichimoji.

Blade long and stiff; Iori shallow; fine, regular woody edge; 'small midare' with 'reverse feet,' and, in the upper part, straight edge, with 'small feet'; file oblique; head generally round; inscribed with his initials, or "Sukemitsu, a native of Yoshioka of the province Bizen."

(22) Sukeyoshi, in the era of Kenpō; was the father of Sukemitsu.

His work resembles that of Sukemitsu; edge broad, with 'reverse midare,' as in the blades of Ichimoji; some specimens are of large size.

(23) Sanetoshi, in the era of Teiji; son of Yoshizane.

Blade slender; ridge rather highly curved; Iori shallow; regular woody texture; rough skin; fine woody texture both on body and edge; edge with 'small midare' at the hilt; and 'large choji' in the centre, which lacks distinction. In some specimens, resembling Moriye's work; 'scattered feet' appear toward the point. Some blades have 'Sunagashi,' and others have 'shadowy waist edge'; cap broad; file oblique. Hiroyoshi, the son of Norifusa, and two other men in the era of Shōō, used a similar inscription.

(24) Kunimune, in the era of Rekijin; removed afterward to Sagami; called "Bizen Saburo."

Blade long and thick; point slender; Iori shallow; irregular woody texture; rough and lurid skin; the edge has rich 'midare' at the middle; some 'notare' tending upward and toward the point; generally of the wide, straight edge type, having deep 'feet'; some are of the 'Choji' edge type, both large and small; stains on the edge are frequent; cap round and lacks rich boiling marks, perhaps owing to imperfect welding; some have deep 'glory'; back thick; file oblique; head round. Nothing is known about his short swords. While living in Rokukara in Kyo, he inscribed as "Kuninao." Figures are rare. His son, Masamune, also signed himself as "Kunimune."

(25) Moriiye, in the era of Hoji; a native of Hadakeda.

Ridge rather wide; Iori shallow; point small; fine, regular woody lines, occasionally a trifle lurid; 'Choji edge,' having 'large midare' at hilt and 'small midare' at the point. Shape of 'Choji' is somewhat angular. Some blades have the Hyotan edge, or 'double Choji'; while others have the 'visible waist edge,' which is broad, or 'notare edge,' or that with 'Utsuri,' or stain on the edge; cap round. The short sword is rare, and of the narrow straight type; back thick; file oblique; head round; signed by his two letters, or as "made by Kurijiri Moriiye." His grandson used the same signature. His 'Choji edge' is far inferior, and in his 'Hyotan' there is no double edge. The letter 'Mori' of his name differs from that of his grandfather, which is written in a different script. Iesuke and another swordsmith of the Nagafune class also used the same signature.

(26) Sanemori, in the era of Kenji; grandson of Moriiye.

His work resembles that of Moriiye; Iori shallow; point small; skin somewhat rough; edge of 'large midare' or 'Choji,' or with the 'reverse midare.' The straight edge has 'reverse feet' or small boiling; many have stains on the edge; cap round. Nothing is known about the short sword. Thick back; crosswise file; round head; the same inscription is found in Hōki, but in a larger script.

(27) Tochika, lived in Hadakeda; father of Moriiye.

His work generally resembles that of Sanemori; appearance strong; some specimens with the 'Choji edge.'

(28) Mitsutada, in the era of Hoji; lived in Nagafune.

Blade strong at centre, bent at hilt, sometimes thick and wide; generally furrowed; Iori shallow; point small; regular

woody edge; skin of woody texture, a trifle lurid, but resembling a 'large Choji' of skillful make; some have boiled marks, others the 'double Choji,' and still others have 'deep midare feet' on the stuff-iron and point. The chief care is the edge; skin occasionally is rough. There is no short sword; back thin; file oblique; head mostly round.

(29) Nagamitsu (Junkei), in the era of Kenchō; lived in Nagafune.

Blade like Mitsutada; nearly all are furrowed; Iori shallow; point small; fine, beautiful, regular woody lines; very skillfully executed 'Choji edge,' the 'midare' having round heads like scattered cherry-flowers. Some have 'Chikei,' or 'lightening'; woody texture on edge; has brilliant, deep 'glory.' Some have 'Choji' at the hilt, and the wide, straight edge, combined with the 'midare' at the point. The cap has 'midare,' or, with some, the 'Utsuri.' Short sword is rare and inferior. Back thin; file oblique; head mostly round.

(30) Nagamitsu (Sakonshōgen), son of the aforesaid Nagamitsu; in the era of Shōō.

His work resembles that of his father. Blade slender and thick; furrowed, or doubly furrowed; Iori medium; skin sometimes rather lurid, as in the swords of his father Junkei, but inferior; large scale rare; some blades have 'lightening'; edge with 'small midare,' or 'middle midare,' having 'feet,' or it appears to be the simple straight edge, or resembles the work of Kagemitsu; Iori sometimes deep; cap round. The short sword is rare, thick and dry; with 'small midare,' although the straight edge occasionally occurs; cap of various forms; figure designs are cut like 'Ken,' 'furrow,' etc.; the nakago is like Junkei's work, and is sometimes signed Nagafune."

(31) Sanenaga, in the era of Seiō; lived in Nagafune; a disciple of Junkei.

Blade is like that of Nagamitsu; Iori shallow; furrowed; point small; regular woody lines; skin brilliant, though somewhat lurid; edge with 'small midare'; 'small Choji,' or straight, although some specimens show the 'middle straight' edge, with pointed 'feet,' or resemble the blades of Aoye or Nagamitsu; cap round and occasionally somewhat boiled. Short swords unknown. Thick back; oblique file; round head; signed with his two initials, generally in long script, although some are signed "Taira."

(32) Kagehide, in the era of Hoji; lived in Nagafune; younger brother of Mitsutada.

(33) Kagehide, in the era of Hoji; lived in Nagafune; younger brother of Mitautada.

Blade stiff and narrow; ridge broad; Iori shallow; point small; skin is a little lurid; of the 'midare' edge, which is of the darkened, 'reverse midare' clearing at the margin of the edge. Sometimes has the 'broad notare' or the broad edge. The cap is round, or has a little 'kayeri'; some boil; welded back. Thick back; great oblique file; round hand. Short sword is not known.

(34) Kagemitsu, in the era of Keichō; son of Junkei.

Blade thick; ridge narrow and angular; width medium; Iori deep; point small; regular woody grain, which is fine and of the Noshihada type; a trifle lurid; the edge is of the Nokogiri class, with 'small midare,' or the straight edge, combined with the 'Nokogiri,' while some specimens have the midare visible in the stuff-iron, or show the boiling, or the pure, straight edge type; cap straight-edged; point round. The short sword is straight and narrow, with triangular back; 'Nokogiri' or straight edge in type; cap straight or pointed. The short sword is superior to the long. Back thick or angular; file oblique; head round. This blade is called the Kagemitsu type, while those with the broad back are termed "Kagemitsu make."

(35) Kagemasa, in the era of Kōō.

Some of his blades have the furrow, while others are of the ridge type. They generally resemble Kagemitsu's swords, with the 'Nokogiri' edge, having 'small reverse midare,' which in some specimens is visible on the stuff-iron. The short sword is like Kagemitsu's work, both with small and large 'midare'; some blades have figures; back thick; file oblique; head round.

(36) Yoshimitsu, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Nagafune; son of Kagemitsu.

Blade furrowed; Iori deep; points varying; of the 'Nokogiri' type, or with 'notare'; rarely of the straight edge class. The short sword is straight; edge straight, or combined with the 'Nokogiri' edge, or resembling the work of Kanemitsu; back angular; file oblique; head round.

(37) Kanemitsu, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Nagasumi; son of Kagemitsu; a disciple of Masamune.

Blade broad; Iori deep; back triangular; point medium; slender furrow, terminating in round form, about a half sun above the hilt; irregular woody lines, which are lurid and visible on the stuff-iron; no boiling marks; of the 'Nokogiri,' 'notare,' or wide, straight edge type, with 'feet'; cap round or pointed. The short sword is curved, thin and wide, or straight and long; in type of the 'Nokogiri,' 'notare,' or 'notare' combined with 'Nokogiri'; some blades show the straight edge; cap as in the work of Yoshimitsu; back thin or angular; file oblique; head round. Skillfully cut figures such as 'Ken' or 'Kurikara,' which is short. After Kanemitsu became a disciple of Masamune, his work developed brilliancy; before that the blade was narrow and had the 'midare of small feet.'

(38) Moromitsu, son of Kanemitsu.

(39) Moromitsu, Tomomitsu and Kanemitsu produced work nearly similar.

(40) Yoshikage, almost like Kanemitsu.

(41) Kanenaga, in the era of Koreki, son of Naganao.

His blades closely resembled those of Kanemitsu; boils well.

(42) Tomomitsu,

Blade medium or wide; Iori deep; back triangular; has figures; is of the 'great notare,' or of the 'Gunome' type; combined with 'midare'; different caps. The short sword is curved, wide and thin. Some blades are of the 'great notare,' while others are of the 'small notare' type, combined with sharp 'feet'; back angular; file marks oblique; head round. He was a son of Kanemitsu; lived in Nagafune; in the era of Teiji.

(43) Hidemitsu, in the era of Ōei.

Edge resembles Tomomitsu; of the 'Nokogiri,' or the 'reverse midare' type.

(44) Morikage, the same era as Hidemitsu.

Edge resembles Tomomitsu; of the large make, or of the slender straight edge.

(45) Masamitsu, in the era of Teiji; lived in Nagafune; a disciple of Kanemitsu.

Blade flat; Iori deep; back triangular; point small or medium; edge of the 'Nokogiri' or combined with the 'notare,' while other specimens show 'round Gunome'; boiling lacking; cap varying, but with 'midare.' The short sword is curved and rather wide, and resembles the long sword, although some

specimens have the straight edge; back angular; file oblique; head round.

(46) Motomitsu, in the era of Teiji; lived in Nagafune; a disciple of Kanemitsu.

All his swords resemble the work of Masamitsu, although his blades have slight boiling marks.

(47) Motomasa, of the same era as Motomitsu.

All his swords resemble the work of Motomitsu; welded edge somewhat hard in its margin; 'midare' fine; boiling scanty and somewhat coarse.

(48) Choji, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Nagafune; a disciple of Masamune.

Blade wide and thin; point medium; Iori deep or triangular; ridge sharp; furrowed; irregular woody lines and lurid skin; with 'notare edge,' large 'reverse midare' of 'notare' type, while some specimens show 'Gunome' or the 'Hitatsura,' combined with 'reverse midare'; edge widened toward the point, and with rich boiling; cap either round or sharp, and with very deep 'kayeri.' The short sword is curved, wide and thin, but in all other respects it resembles the long sword, although some specimens are too long and have all the characteristics of the Kamakura class; back thick; file-marks oblique; head round; large inscription. His work before he became the disciple of Masamune differed from his father's style.

(49) Motoshige, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Nagafune; became a disciple of Sadamune.

Blade wide, thick, or medium; Iori deep; point medium; a lurid, woody texture like that of the Bit-chū class; no boiling; is of the medium straight edge, combined with 'reverse feet,' or with 'nokogori,' or of unusual make, such as 'balled midare'; cap round. The short sword is straight or bent, otherwise resembles the long sword; some are of 'notare' edge; back varying; file-marks oblique; head round. He afterward lived in Hikara of Hōki.

(50) Chikakage, in the era of Shōō; a disciple of Nagamitsu.

His blades resemble Motoshige's work.

(51) Shigezane, the same era as Chikakage; afterward became a disciple of Sadamune.

His work resembles Motoshige's work, although some blades are of the small 'Nokogiri' with 'small feet.'

(52) Sukekuni, in the era of Gentoku; lived in Kokubuji.

Iori deep; point small; of the straight edge type, combined with the "small midare"; some specimens have scattered boiling marks; with 'Uchinoke.' The short sword is very rare; back thick; file medium or large and oblique; head generally round.

(53) Unshō, a priest; in the era of Kenshō; lived in Ukai.

Blade slender; ridge wide; Iori deep; fine, regular woody texture; skin lurid; of the 'small midare' type, combined with 'reverse feet,' although some specimens show the straight edge, while others have 'feet'; boiling either scanty or considerable; cap round, or with slight 'kayeri.' The short sword is very rare; of the straight type; back both thin and angular; small oblique file; round head. Unsho's son (in the era of Bumpo), used the same signature as his father.

(54) Unji, a son of Unsho; in the era of Bumpo; lived in Ukai.

Ridge wide, and either low or high; Iori medium; point small; skin lurid; of 'small midare' type, or of straight edge, combined with 'small midare,' although some blades have 'midare' at the hilt, and 'feet' toward the top; rich boiling mark; cap very round, or with slight 'kayeri.' In some instances it resembles the Bit-chū class. The short sword is rare; straight or slightly curved; back thick; great oblique file; round head. Four swordsmiths have used the same signature.

(55) Unjū, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Ukai; son of the younger Unshō.

Blade wide; ridge broad; Iori deep; point varying; skin lurid; of the 'small midare' type, or with the straight edge, having the 'small midare'; rich boiling marks; cap round. The short sword is curved; back wide or triangular; some specimens are of the straight edge type, although in all other respects they resemble the long sword; back thick; great oblique file; head round.

## XII. YOSHII CLASS.

In the era of Shōō or Ōei.

Blade thick, angular or medium; Iori deep, or with triangular back; some points are slightly longer than usual; lurid skin; edge of straight or 'small midare' type, with 'feet,' although some are of the hard, slender, straight type, while others are

Rickiki, with the 'round Gunome midare,' or with a woody texture and 'sunagashi,' both on the body and edges; cap varying; boiling mark sometimes present. The short sword is either curved or straight, but in all other respects it resembles the long sword. The nakago has different kinds of backs; file oblique; head round. In the case of 'Naganori' the edge is thick; Iori shallow; of the 'Gunome' or the straight type, combined with 'small midare' or 'feet,' or with spotted skin, resembling Aoye's blades. This class also includes Kagenori, the son of Kagelhide of Nagafune, Yoshinori, Kiyonori, and others.

### XIII. BIT-CHŪ CLASS.

Blade narrow or wide; Iori deep; three-angled or round back; small, large or long point; generally the furrow is narrow. Figures such as 'Ken' and Sanskrit letters are rare. Skin lurid and of so-called 'Namagu' skin; in some cases, showing regular and beautiful texture.

There are many varieties of the short sword. In the Katayama class, the long sword is rare, attention being devoted to the 'Naginata' (halberd), having the large point. The edge, with but few exceptions, is straight, but show 'feet,' 'small feet,' or 'reverse midare.'

Some of the Naginata are of larger make. The margin of the edge is clear and distinct; glory slender; boiling fine; some have small or middle straight edge. The cap may be round or pointed, or have deep 'kayeri.' The nakago has a thick back, oblique file, and rounded head. Some have the crosswise or 'Higaki' file-mark, but the edge, in that case, is thicker.

(1) Sadatsugu, in the era of Genreki; lived in Aoye.

Blade slender; ridge narrow; is of the straight or the 'small midare' type, and apt to have 'small midare' at the hilt, and the wide, straight edge, having 'small feet' at the middle; much boiling; some have 'large midare'; skin tolerably good. His work was skillfully done, as befitted a royal smith. Sadatsugu's swords do not at all resemble the common Bit-chū class. The signature consists of his two initials in large type, but sometimes the inscription is "Yasu." Swords inscribed "Osumi Gonnosuke Taira no Sadatsugu" are the work of a different man, who, though frequently signing as "Sadatsugu," carved the



character 'tsugu' differently. He also made short swords. His work is inferior.

(2) Tsugiiye, in the era of Genreki; son of Sadatsugu.

The blade is curved from the hilt; thick back; shallow Iori; steep ridge; edge of small, but wide midare upward from the middle; oblique file.

(3) Tsunetsugu, contemporary with Tsugiiye.

The blade is considerably bent, and has a common appearance; Iori shallow; point small; regular woody lines; of 'small midare,' 'small reverse midare,' or straight edge; cap round; short sword of the straight make; inscribed in a large letter; some have crosswise file. There are other makers using the same inscription.

(4) Yoshitsugu.

Long and small swords are of the straight, 'small midare,' or the 'notare' types; in general, of irregular make. Welding seems to be bad.

(5) Moritsugu.

Blade wide; stuff-iron has a hard and ugly appearance; file-mark distinct.

(6) Tsuguyoshi.

Deep 'feet' and 'Uchinoke.' His short swords resemble the blades of Shintogo.

(7) Masatsune, in the era of Genreki; lived in Bit-chū; a disciple of Tsuneto.

Blade long, slender, and considerably bent; Iori shallow. Some have the rounded back; narrow ridge; small point; fine, regular woody lines; lurid skin; straight edge, mixed with 'reverse midare,' or one like common "Aoye"; cap round; fine boiling; a few have the 'lightening' or 'Hakikake,' etc.; angular back; great oblique file; slender point; round head.

(8) Katayama, called Katayama Ichimoji; lived in Bit-chū.

Breadth and thickness medium; Iori medium; small or large point; Naginata (halberds) numerous; short sword unknown; is of the 'large, reverse midare,' or 'simple midare'; boiling may be numerous or scanty; cap round or pointed; deep 'kayeri'; angular back; oblique file; round head. Almost all are unsigned.

(9) Ietsugu.

Closely resembles the work of the great Ichimoji; boils; deep 'glory'; some have regular 'feet' or 'midare' on the ridge. It

is said that Katayama has regularly arranged 'feet,' and the straight edge welded widely above the Fukura.

#### XIV. MIHARA (of Bungo) CLASS.

Ridge high; narrow or bent; frequently furrowed; Iori common, shallow or backed; points vary. Even though it belongs to the regular woody line class, it has the appearance of the complicated woody texture. Sometimes the skin is lurid. Many are of the straight edge type, having 'Uchinoke'; or of 'Uchinoke' mixed with 'small reverse feet,' with or without boiling mark. The cap may be either round or pointed. Short sword is of the straight type, thick and narrow; occasionally curved and thin; some have 'great midare.' Other points are like the long sword. Nakago has the angular back, crosswise file, slender point, and round head.

(1) Masaiye, in the era of Shōwa; lived in Mihara.

Chiefly of the Mihara type; some have 'small midare' at the hilt and a wide, straight edge, having the 'feet' at the point, which is too long; cap round; Tachi of the straight edge is like the old Seki class. The blades of Masahiro and Masanobu greatly resemble his, having straight edges, with rich boiling. There are many generations of workers in Mihara, all closely resembling each other. Masaiye and Masahiro are the most skillful among them.

(2) Ichijo, in the era of Seikei; lived in Mihara; called Hokke Ichijo.

Blade slender; ridge high; Iori is commoner with a triangular back; point rather long; with a small or 'medium midare'; with the 'Hitatsura' or the straight edge, having a 'scattering midare'; caps varying; boiling marks frequently coarse and abundant. The short sword is either bent or straight, but similar in other respects to the long sword. File crosswise; head round.

(3) Kaimihara, a native of Kai.

Ridge high; blade thick; Iori of different sorts; small points; wide, straight-edged in type; 'midare' small and no boiling. His work is occasionally of the 'small Gunome' type, or resembles the common Mikara. Short swords are rare. The file is oblique or crosswise; point slender; head round.

(4) Tatsufusa, a native of Onomichi.

Ridge high; Iori common, or with a triangular back; edge either of the distinct straight edge type, or of the 'Gunome midare' of the 'reverse' variety. Some have 'Uchinoke,' 'great Gunome,' or a little boiling; carved designs numerous; cap round. The short sword is straight or bent, while some are middle-sized. In all other respects they resemble the long sword. The nakago has a different back; file crosswise, 'hawk's feather,' or 'Sakami'; head angular. In the school of Mihara there are many generations of Goami which are of the 'Gunome' type. A branch of the family worked for many generations in Tomo, their blades resembling those of Hitatsura.

(5) Niō, in the era of Bunkū; lived in Suō.

Ridge high; Iori common; point small; type distinct straight edge, with 'Uchinoke' or boiling, although it may also have the 'midare' or the 'great Gunome'; some have a 'midare' of the Seki type; cap round. The short sword is straight or bent, and also occurs in different widths and thicknesses; some being of medium size. In all other respects they resemble long swords. Figures are numerous, and the nakago resembles Tatsufusa's work. These swords are called Niō saburo, and there are many generations of this name.

(6) Akikuni, in the era of Geiwa; a disciple of Yasukichi; lived in Nagato.

Blade narrow and thick; point small; Iori common or with a triangular back. 'Gunome midare'; well boiled and with 'sunagashi'; caps of different types; sometimes the blades have the slender straight edge. The short sword is straight, generally of the shōbu type. There are also medium swords which are like long swords. File crosswise; end broad; head round.

Yasuyoshi, in the era of Kenbu; lived in Nagato; born in Chikuzen.

His blades resemble the work of Hidari and Yasukichi. They have boiling marks, and some are of the straight edge. The Choshū blades are slightly inferior.

(7) Sairen, in the era of Bunō; lived in Chikuzen.

Blade wide; ridge rather wide; backs vary, some being round, while the majority have the deep furrow; fine, regular, woody lines; stuff-iron somewhat stiff. Some have the slender, straight edge, with 'small midare'; fine boiling marks on the edge; cap round. The short sword is bent or straight; breadth and thick-

ness medium. Some of them are of the Shōbu type; back thick; large, oblique file; head round; inscribed as "Seiren," "Kuniyoshi," "Hoshi Sairen," "Kuniyoshi of Dangisho," or "Hakata, of the Province Chukizen."

(8) Jitsua, in the era of Seiō; son of Seiren; lived in Chikuzen.

Blade somewhat slender; point small; back round; sometimes furrowed; fine, depressed, irregular woody texture, which may also be seen on the edge; 'straight edge' or the 'small midare' type, bears a general but inferior resemblance to Seiren's work.

(9) Hidari, in the era of Genō; son of Jitsua, and disciple of Masanune; native of Okihama in Chikuzen.

Blade wide; ridge high; mostly furrowed; deep Iori; back of various types; fine, beautiful, irregular woody lines; point generally very long. His 'notare midare' has coarse, rich boiling, sharp at the point, and with a slight 'reverse' appearance; cap pointed and with deep 'Kayeri,' rich boiling and 'midare.' This cap is peculiar, the figures being frequent. Short swords are curved, although occasionally straight ones are found. They may be wide or narrow, but are generally thick; sometimes they are of the straight edge class, with fine, beautiful, irregular woody lines, which are sometimes almost invisible. Back thick; great oblique file; point slender; inscribed as "Hidari, a native of Chiku-Province," an inscription which sometimes appears on both sides; sometimes inscribed as "Genkei."

(10) Yasukichi, in the era of Kenbu; son of Hodari; lived in Chikuzen; afterward in Nagato.

His short sword is bent, often thick; Iori deep, or with triangular back; skin beautiful, but not of great excellence; some are too long at fukura; is of the 'midare' in the 'small Gunome' type, which sometimes has boiling marks extend through the body of the blade. The caps vary. The long sword is rare, and is longer at the point; otherwise it resembles the short sword in all particulars; some edges are wide in the upper half, and have 'reverse feet.' Thick back; great oblique file; slender point; round head; some swords have file-marks oblique at the plain and crosswise at the ridge; inscribed as "Hidari Yasukichi," or as "Yasukichi." Later blades are inferior.

(11) Yoshisada, son of Yasukichi.

His blades closely resemble those of Yasukichi; some with small, large, or extra large 'notare.

(12) Sadayoshi.

His work resembles that of his brother Yasuyoshi.

(13) Kunihiro, in the era of Teiwa; descendant of Hidari; lived in Chikugo.

His long and short swords are both like Hidari's; irregular woody lines; mostly furrowed; with well boiled 'Hitatsura,' and 'midare,' of the straight edge or of the large or small 'midare'; cap with deep 'Kayeri' and either round or pointed; points unusually long; file crosswise. He lived in Aki in the era of Kenbu.

(14) Moritaka, in the era of Bunō; called Kongobyoe; lived in Chikugo.

Blade considerably bent; ridge narrow; furrowed; Iori deep or with triangular back; point small; medium, middle straight edge; sometimes rather slender; slight boil; although occasionally no boiling is present. Some have 'Uchinoke,' and more rarely 'small midare'; no 'glory,' common in type; cap round. The short sword is straight and generally thick, with angular back and crosswise file; extremely broad and common; angular head.

(15) Miike, in the era of Shōhō; called Denta; lived in Chikugo.

Blade and ridge wide and thin; generally with shallow and wide furrows, but occasionally with narrow furrow; backs vary, some being round; small point; fine, beautiful, irregular lines; edge, 'small midare' or straight, the latter having 'little feet' or those characteristics of the larger types; cap round and finely boiled. The works of his advanced years are very noble. Those of his middle life resemble the works of Seiren, Yenzu, etc., while his later works are sometimes like the Bizen or Takata class in their 'midare.' The short sword is straight, and of varying width and thickness. There are also swords of medium size; back thick; crosswise file; round head. Some, however, are of the small or large oblique, or 'Higeki.'

(16) Shinsoku, in the era of Wadō; said to be a priest of the Usa temple in Bizen.

Blade thick and dry; ridge narrow; back generally round and furrowed; fine, irregular woody lines; stuff-iron bright; has

boiling; slender, straight edge in type; with 'little feet,' or resembling the 'midare' edge class. The short sword is straight; round back; file crosswise and a little downward; head generally rounded; signed with the two letters of his name in large cut; or inscribed as "Hotō Shinsoku" or "Senshū Banzai." In the latter case, however, we must remember that the works of Yukihiro, Nagamaro, etc., are similarly signed.

(17) Sadahide, in the era of Kaō; father of Yukihiro; lived in Bungo; called Genzanhoshi.

Blade long and slender; point small; fine, irregular lines, or very fine, glittering, regular woody lines; furrow shallow; of the slender, straight edge type, with 'small feet'; deep 'glory'; boiling 'sunagashi,' or 'lightening.' The color of the edge is vague, sometimes almost invisible; the cap has 'Hakikaki'; nakago has round back and oblique file; point slender; inscribed as "Sadahide" or "Sadahide, a priest of Bungo." He is said to have become a swordsmith at the age of thirty-two.

(18) Yukihiro, in the era of Kennin; lived in Bungo; called Ki Shindayū.

Blade slender; point close; ridge narrow; Iori deep or with triangular back; of the fine, regular, straight line type; edge with straight, or 'little notare,' or 'small midare,' or with numerous spots in the stuff-iron; has no boiling; deep 'glory'; (some, however, show a fine boiling); cap closely welded. The short sword is bent or straight; and either wide or narrow. All have the figure of 'Kurikara in Hitsu,' (which is short, deep, and not at all angular,) in addition to the 'ken,' or Sanskrit letters; nakago with round back and thick in its plain; great common, or small, oblique file, or with some 'Tsuchimesen' or 'shi'; point very slender; round head; inscription cut in the long letter, as "Hoshi," "Arikaze," "Muneyasu," or "Munehide." The short sword inscribed sometimes by the two initials.

(19) Masatsune, in the era of Tenpuku; disciple of Yukihiro; lived in Bungo; called Kino Masatsune.

Blade slender; point small; Iori shallow; rarely furrowed; almost invisibly fine, regular lines; some with the shadowy 'jifu'; edge is of the straight type, with 'small feet,' 'notare,' 'great midare,' 'midare' combined with 'small choji' or with rich boiling; cap round and straight-edged like Yukihiro's work; nakago with the thick back; crosswise, oblique file; round head. He was a son of the daughter of Yukihiro.

## XV. TAKATA CLASS,

In the era of Kenbu.

The short sword is bent, wide, and in some specimens, thin; backs varying; 'Gunome' small; cap pointed; some are boiled. The long sword is rare.

(1) Taira Osamori, in the era of Ōei.

Ridge high and stiff; of the regular woody line type; with straight and 'midare edge'; some are boiled; cap round; figures are minutely cut and dull.

There are many men belonging to the Takata class. Their characteristics are not all alike, but their welding is invariably bad. Their blades have a black skin, and are very ordinary; the forms vary; some being of the Shobū type. The blade is bent; some are of the straight edge type, with 'small feet' or 'great midare,' or having only numerous 'small feet,' and no boiling. All, however, are of vulgar appearance; caps vary; some are well boiled, but lack nobility; angular back; crosswise file; small point; round head.

(2) Yoshisada, in the era of Ōan; a disciple of Ryokai of Kyo; called Ryokai of Tsukushi.

Blade wide; Iori shallow; skin as in Ryokai's work; of 'small midare' or straight edge type; cap closely welded; boiling rare; almost all have Sanskrit letters; back thick; crosswise file; signed "Ryokai" or "Yoshisada."

(3) Enju, many generations beginning with the era of Shōō; lived in Iiigo.

Blade slender; ridge a little wide; Iori deep or with triangular back; some are furrowed; point small; regular woody lines; edge of 'small midare,' straight edge, or with 'small feet,' or 'small Gunome,' with both boiling and 'glory'; cap round. The short sword is straight, thick, and of various breadths; straight edge in type; cap round and with 'fukura,' nakago with thick back; crosswise file; round hand, and inscription in a broad cut.

(4-5) Kunisuke, Kunitsuna. The short sword is bent; and some have the 'notare edge.'

(6-7) Kuniyoshi, Kunimura. Some have the 'small Gunome.'

(8) Kunikado. Some are of 'Hitatsura.'

As this class was invented by Rai Kuniyuki, it resembles his work in many points. Sometimes it has an irregular woody marked skin.

(9) Nanihira, many generations beginning with the era of Bunpo; lived in Satsuma.

Some swords are medium in size and furrowed, shape of point varies; slender; straight edge in type; sometimes with Haki-kake. The short swords are of different shapes, breadths and thicknesses, with triangular or round backs. There are also swords of the straight edge type with 'Hakikake,' 'small feet,' or 'small midare'; some are boiled; others not; cap round or with 'Hakikake'; carved designs like 'Ken,' 'Hoko,' etc., are frequent; edge with 'midare' like the later Bizen class, or with the straight edge like the work of Mikara or Kongobyoye; no glory; bad stuff-iron; coarse skin; nakago with angular or round back; 'higaki'; crosswise or oblique file; round head.

(10) Masakuni, in the era of Eien.

Blade generally round; 'small midare' or the 'slender notare' in type; oblique file; some inscribed as "Happyaku nen," (800 years).

(11) Yukihiro. Widely furrowed; the straight edge; or of the 'small midare' type; skillfully made.

(12) Yukiyasu. Blade slender. The Iori is closely welded in his good work. His blade resembles that of Rai Kunitoshi's, but without nobility.

(13) Seiza, Shigeyoshi, mostly of the midare; crosswise file.

(14) Iruka, in the era of Bunwa; lived in Kii.

The short sword straight, with varying breadths, thicknesses and backs. The long sword is rare, and is of the straight edge type; round cap; rough, regular, woody lines; crosswise or oblique file.

(15) Sanetsugu, a smith whose blades resembled Yasumasa Goro's.

File-mark crosswise in the case of the long sword, and oblique in the short swords.

(16) Kunitsugu, in the era of Ōei; lived in Kogawa of Kii.

The forms of his swords vary. Blade is slender; Iori deep; back round; with the irregular or regular woody lines; edge of the clear, straight edge type; hard, slender, and devoid of boiling, although sometimes it has 'Gunome midare'; or 'Hitatsura'; cap round; nakago with the round back; crosswise, or oblique file; slender point; round head. Owing to the formation of the letter 'Kuni,' in his signature he is called "Sudo Kunitsugu."



(17) Umibe, in the era of Koreki; lived in Awa.

Blade generally thick; deep Iori; some specimens have exaggerated points; edge with 'wide notare,' especially at the point. The short sword is of the straight type, sometimes with triangular back; edge straight in type, or with 'notare midare,' or very rarely, the 'Iitatsura'; nakago with thick back; crosswise oblique file. The later specimens are far inferior.

(18) Yoshimitsu, in the era of Reiō; lived in Tosa.

Blade straight, narrow, and generally thick; Iori shallow or with triangular back. The long sword is rare; straight edge in type; round cap and some boiling; nakago with various backs; crosswise file; round head; some greatly resembling the blades of Awadaguchi, but are inferior in nobility; they have, moreover many distinct peculiarities. The welding and designs also differ widely from the work of Awadaguchi.

*The Fountain of Youth. Second Paper.*—By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

THE interest shown by several correspondents in the legend of the Fountain (discussed in the first half of this volume) has taken the form of communications which add in some measure to the material already collected. For my own part, I have only one further legend to record. I found it in Félicien Challaye's *Au Japon et en extrême-Orient*, a book published this year and received after the printing of my former paper. In this work M. Challaye gives as a *conte japonais* a tale which, if genuine, will modify the note above, p. 28, at least to the extent of accepting a Japanese Fountain of Youth as a tale of fairy-land, the rejuvenated pair being inhabitants of the sacred island, Miya Jima. It is not at all certain, however, that the tale is indigenous. In this version, *La Fontaine de Jouvence* first rejuvenates an old man, who on drinking of the spring becomes, as it were, twenty years of age. The next morning his aged wife hastens to the same marvelous fountain; but, insatiate, she drinks too much and becomes an infant, *trop rajeunie!* The symbolism is apparent—to him who understands it. Various explanations are given, the last being, “Que ce conte est beau! et qu'il s'applique bien à l'amour!” I have no means of discovering whether the tale was invented by the author or actually heard in Japan, or whether, if heard, the version was a Japanese perversion of a borrowed theme. It may owe its peculiar flavor to a reminiscence of Aelian.

Professor Albert S. Cook has kindly drawn my attention to Lactantius (fourth century), who in his *Carmen de phœnice* describes the rejuvenation of the phœnix (verses 37-38):

ter quater illa pias immergit corpus in undas,  
ter quater e vivo gurgite libat aquam.

The triple plunge of the eagle is more stereotyped than the *ter quater* of the phœnix as here represented would indicate.

One of the most curious additions to the legendary eagle has been furnished me by my brother, Professor Arthur J. Hopkins of Amherst College. It is contained in Berthelot's *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. ii, p. 120 of the Greek text of Zosimos. Here it appears that the eagle is a brass eagle, symbolic of the copper-gold process of the alchemists. This brass eagle is alluded to elsewhere in the same work, so that the idea does not seem to be due to a later gloss. Zosimos refers to "the most ancient Ostanès," and the latter author in turn cites the Persian sage Sophar. Thus if Zosimos reverts to the fourth century the rejuvenation of the eagle must have been known in the East at a considerably earlier period. The text of Zosimos is as follows: ἕνεκεν ἐκείνων ὁ ἀρχαιότατος Ὀστάνης ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καταπαδείγμασιν · Ἄλλος περὶ τίνος Σωφάρ, κατὰ τὴν Περσίδα προαναφανέντος ἱστορεῖ · λέγει οὗτος ὁ θεῖος Σωφάρ · Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἐν κίονι ἀετὸς χαλκοῦς, κατερχόμενος ἐν πηγῇ καθαρῇ καὶ λουόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀνανεούμενος, ἐπέπερ φησὶν · ὁ ἀετὸς ἐτυμολογούμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λούεσθαι θέλει, κ. τ. α. "In regard to this matter the most ancient Ostanès (observes) in his demonstrations that some one tells as follows about a certain Sophar who formerly lived in Persia. This holy Sophar says: "There is upon a pillar a brass eagle; it descends to a pure fountain and bathes daily and is thus rejuvenated. Then he says: The eagle [thus] interpreted will be bathed daily," etc.

The rest of the passage is to show that as this eagle bathed daily so at the hands of the alchemist must the "brass eagle" of alchemy be washed and rejuvenated every day of the year, δι' ὧν τῶν τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἡμερῶν λούειν τὸν χάλκεον ἀετὸν καὶ ἀνανεοῦν. M. Berthelot's note on the meaning of eagle at this place is as follows: "Le sens du mot aigle dans ce passage est obscur. Au moyen âge, on traduisait "aigle" par sublimation naturelle. Mais ce sens ne paraît pas être celui d'Ostanès." But in the *fragments mystiques* of Berthelot's *La Chimie au moyen Âge*, ii. 312, there is a passage on this Sophar, which states that he, "le mage et le philosophe des Perses, erected an eagle, which seized a chicken and ate it; he wrote before its claws, which held . . . [?] . . . the chicken: *take some water and drench the eagle*. Eagle signifies year [on the margin, *Great mystery*]. He commanded the Magi of Persia to render divine honours to [the eagle placed upon] a column [?] doubtful]." Here the

'eagle' is a mere symbol, and as the next sentence states that there was a Roman cult established by the same Sophar, one is almost tempted to believe that the mystic eagle was confused by later writers with the Roman symbol of power.

A query in regard to the source of the manna-story referred to on p. 7, note 1, revealed that for Strabo, xv. 7 in that note should be read Aelian, xv. 7. Another error, involving an emendation of the Sanskrit text on p. 60 [(9) 127], has been pointed out by Dr. Caland, who proposes what is undoubtedly the better reading, tad indro 'nvabudhyata pra hā' bhyām avocad iti. Dr. Caland suggests that gr̥hṇan, with augment omitted, is a corruption. I marked gr̥hṇan on p. 63, note 1, as "rather exceptional," but did not venture to insert the augment when lacking in the MS., here and in *sampīban* (159, p. 64).

In the text published by me, for (sā yad) eti (4. 121 ad fin., p. 59), the MS. has iti (perhaps iti). Query, can the weak stem be used for the strong? In Mbh. xii. 11. 14, ātmānaṁ dṛḍhavādī 'ti, tathā siddhir ihe'syate, Nīlakaṇṭha says, dṛḍhavādī dṛḍhaniścayaḥ, pumān yathā' tñānam iti, eti, guṇā 'bhāva āṛṣaḥ!

An omission in the literature cited has been supplied by Dr. Willy Foy, who refers to Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 3d ed., London, 1878, p. 363 f., a passage that had escaped my notice. The sunset-explanation of the fountain here given by Tylor does not convince me. The author in his exposition makes no distinction between the Fountain of Youth and the Water of Life. As I said in my previous paper, these two notions pass into each other, yet the Semitic water of life includes only as a side issue the rejuvenation of the mortal who essays to be immortal.

A word more on this point. If any naturalistic interpretation be given to this myth, which is involved in the mission of Iṣtar and reappears as a loan in Greece, it is not that of a decadent sun but of decadent vegetation refreshed by water. The interpretation of the Adonis myth given by Charles Vellay, *Le Culte et les Fêtes d'Adonis-Thammouz dans l'Orient antique* (Musée Guimet, 1904), reverts to the opinion held by many ancient writers. On p. 89, for example ("Le soleil renaît, comme le phénix. Il est ressuscité l'Adonis aus beautés puissantes et fécondes, et il déploie sur le monde le nouvel éclat de sa gloire"), the explanation is one with the view of Macro-

bis, *Saturn.*, i. 21. As an ultimate explanation this is a retrogression in view of all that has been written in regard to the interpretation of the myth in the last decade. What fades and is revived by water is not the sun but corn and grass. Through the whole Tammuz myth the same idea prevails. Tammuz is identified with the lord of Girshu as Shulgur in his capacity as 'god of corn-heaps' (Jastrow, *Religion of the Babylonians*, p. 58); as such, in the lament of Tammuz, he is called "husband of Ištar, shepherd, seed corn that drank no water in the garden" (Sausseye, i. 191-193); and as such, even to the tenth century, Tā-uz is lamented in Syria as *corn* (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. p. 119: "The women bewail him because his lord slew him so cruelly, ground his bones in a mill and then scattered them to the wind"). M. Vellay's interpretation is valid only as affecting the Syrian cult, not the primitive meaning; but even then it implies that the darling of Byblos was a greater god than a review of the data would warrant.

On p. 27 of my former paper I have suggested that the Polynesian *wai ora*, water of life, is not really comparable with the earthly Fountain of Youth, its function being "to remove sickness and weakness and make immortal in an unearthly paradise." That this is the case will become clear if one compares what Dr. George Turner in his *Samoa*, p. 258, says of the *vai ola*, evidently identical with *wai ora*. Dr. Turner is describing the Samoan "hollow pit down which the spirits of the dead were supposed to descend on the death of the body," and he says: "Those who have died of various diseases . . . all drifted along together [on the stream at the bottom of the pit]. They were, however, little more than alive, and this semi-conscious state continued until they reached the hades of Pulotu, where there was a bathing place called Vaiola, or "water of life." Whenever they bathed here all became lively and bright and vigorous. Infirmary of every kind flew away, and even the aged became young again."

In the *Am. Anthropologist*, July-Sept. 1905, vol. vii, p. 572, to which Professor Bourne has called my attention, Mr. W. R. Gerard says that, according to Martin's *Béiträge zur Ethnographie Amerikas*, ii, p. 319, Bimini is an Arawak compound, equivalent to 'life-font'. In the list referred to, Martin gives to each of the elements of the word Bimini an independent mean-

ing, but I think it probable that the meaning of the parts is here extracted from the hypothetical meaning of the whole. Mr. Gerard himself says that to his knowledge there is no passage in the Spanish historians which would "give countenance to such a supposition," as that *bimini* was the verbal equivalent of 'life-font.' Till shown to be otherwise, I should regard Martin's vocabulary as probably based on an analysis of *bimini* itself. It is surely not to be expected that, had the native word been an exact equivalent of 'life-font,' the point would have been passed over in silence by earlier writers.

Professor Henry R. Lang, to whom my first paper owed references to early French and Spanish literature, has since favored me with several fresh references to sacred fountains mentioned by Spanish and Portuguese writers. Thus in the *De Correctione Rusticorum* of Martinus Bracarensis, p. 31, ed. Caspari, "panem in fontem mittere," is a popular superstition, perhaps implying the hope of rejuvenation as reward of worship. A fountain called *La fuente de las virtudes* is mentioned in Florez, *España Sagrada*, vol. xxi., pp. 264-265; but its virtues are not specified. Marsi, *Collect. Concil.*, vol. xi., p. 1037 (A.D. 681), says: Sed cultores idolorum, veneratores lapidum, accensores facularum, et excolentes sacra fontium vel arborum admonemus ut agnoscant quod ipsi se spontaneae morti subiiciunt. In Galicia, near El Padrón (Margadon) there was a magic fountain celebrated by Ambrosio de Morales (*Corónica general de España*, vol. ix-x.). See Fita y Guerra, *Santiago de Galicia*, p. 36 (*Recuadros de un Viaje á Santiago de Galicia*, Madrid, 1880). Finally may be mentioned the *agua de Má Martha*, Braga, O Povo Portuguez, vol. ii., p. 130; the *Fonte de leite* (to procure lactation), p. 237; *Rio Sousa*, p. 314; d. S. Bartholomeu de Cabeç (to cure all kinds of ills), p. 316. Compare also *ibid.*, p. 57, where it is stated that the cult of fountains was prohibited by a council held in the year 743; and p. 119, where the cult is briefly described. None of these fountains is expressly a Fountain of Youth, but, as in the case of the milk-fountain, vigor is regained, and, as in the Bartholomeu fount, maladies are cured, and it is quite possible that some were actually fountains of youth. For Hafiz and the minnesingers, who find the Fountain in a kiss, it suffices to refer to Nyrop, *The Kiss and its History* (p. 37 of Harvey's translation).

*Note on Professor Toy's Article on Message-Sacrifices*, p. 137  
(above), by E. W. H.

It did not occur to me when Professor Toy's article was going through the press that some of the best illustrations of ambassadorial sacrifice are to be found in West Africa. Among the Ashantees, for example, a 'messenger' is sent to the spirit world as a sort of herald or announcer of the feast of first fruits, without special commission. Among the Bantama, however, at a similar festival, the message was given to the king's fathers at length and with great care, and (in the case under notice), the postscript was added by means of a second messenger. See Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, p. 77. Prof. Toy's concluding remark, that "a message supposes high gods—the ambassadorial sacrifice is found only . . . in a relatively advanced religious stage," seems to imply a denial of the fact that the message may be sent to ancestors; but I presume the 'heft of the remark' is in the word 'sacrifice,' as the author recognizes messages to the deceased on p. 144.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,  
1905.

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The annual meeting of the Society was held in Springfield, Mass., on Thursday and Friday of Easter week, April 27th and 28th, in the lecture room of the Art Museum.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Asakawa	Hock	Müller	Smith
Allen, F. S.	Hopkins, E. W.	Mumford, Mrs.	Spooner
Arnold, W. R.	Hume, R. E.	Oertel	Torrey
Atkinson	Jackson	Ogden, Miss	Ward, W. H.
Barret	Jewett	Paton	Warren, W. F.
Carus	Lanman	Peters	Winslow
Elwell	Lilly	Popper	Woods
Fisher	Lyon	Prince	Yohannan
Gray	Moore, G. F.	Ranke	[Total, 41.]
Grieve, Miss L. C.	Morris, Miss	Reisner	
Haas	Moxom	Ryder	

The first session began on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock, with Vice-President William Hayes Ward in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Washington, D. C., April 7th and 8th, 1904, was dispensed with, inasmuch as they had already been printed and distributed.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by Dr. Philip S. Moxom in the form of a printed programme.

The succeeding sessions of the Society were appointed for Thursday afternoon at half past two o'clock, Friday morning at nine, and Friday afternoon at two. The session on Friday afternoon was set apart for the reading of papers in the Section for the Historical Study of Religions.



Arrangements were made for a dinner at Cooley's Hotel on Thursday evening, at half past seven o'clock, and for an informal gathering in the same hotel on Friday evening.

The Curator of the Art Museum invited the members of the Society to inspect the collections, under his conduct, on Friday afternoon after the close of the session.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported as follows:

Letters of acceptance have been received from all those elected to membership at the last Meeting. Acknowledgments have been received of books given both to the library (in response to the appeal made by the Rector and Librarian) of the University of Turin, and to the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, which had requested this Society to send a set of the Journal. There has been added to the list of exchanges the *Ethnological Survey Publications*, Manila, P. I. The resignations of Mr. Gilman from the presidency and of Mr. Van Name from the librarianship of the Society have been received by the Secretary.

Three delegates were appointed to represent the Society at the Oriental Congress, Prof. Haupt, Prof. Bloomfield, and Prof. Jackson. These gentlemen, on accepting the appointment, were also made delegates to the same Congress from the United States and as such received official recognition from the Secretary of State. Dr. Abbot and Dr. Ewing were appointed delegates to represent the Society at the celebration of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in response to an invitation from the Honorary Secretary of that Society. The Prospectus and Programme of the Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth, Syria, was sent to the Corresponding Secretary with the request that it be laid before the Society.

President Gilman has sent to the Secretary a geographical note which was written by Andrew T. Platt (a missionary who died in 1872) and sent to Mr. Gilman when the latter was a student of Physical Geography. It is a criticism of maps new and old of the part of Asia Minor familiar to Mr. Pratt. The Secretary does not know whether it contains today anything worth publishing. Mr. Gilman himself would be the best authority on that point; but he unfortunately is not here and in his letter he suggests only that it might be sufficiently interesting to be placed among the archives of the Society, which will of course be done. As an example of Mr. Pratt's note the following may be cited: "The waters of 'Saru,' a village 2 m. north-west of Aintab are erroneously brought, in the old map, to Aintab . . . I notice on the new map a stream running from Azaz into this river [Kuweit]; there is no stream worth notice . . . Neither map lays down a considerable lake near Marash." Mr. Pratt notices some particulars in which the new map [of 1856] "has erroneously varied from the map of

1844," mentions that "south of Derendeh  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours is a village" erroneously called Ashuk, really called by the natives "Ashōdi," etc.

Our esteemed friend Dr. Grierson writes that Janakpur, located in Chutia-Nagpur by Dr. Gray in his recent article on the *Bhartrharinirveda*, is really in the Nepal Tarāi, close to the British frontier, nearly due north of the town of Darbhanga, being thus much nearer Gorakhpur than was stated by Dr. Gray, *JAOS.* xxv, p. 198. "Yoga philosophy," Dr. Grierson adds, "is still much studied by Maithila pandits." As Dr. Grierson states that he is well acquainted with Janakpur, "being one of the few Europeans who have been allowed into it," his description seems worth preserving. "No dead thing is allowed to be within (I think) five *krośas* of the shrine, and so during my stay I fed on sweetmeats and champagne. Meat was of course an impossibility. About fourteen miles to the northeast of Janakpur, near the foot of the hills, is a place called Dhankhēt (Dhanu-kṣetra)." There a black ridge is pointed out as "the fragments of Siva's bow, which was broken by Rāma." The town is traditionally Janaka's home, where the wedding of Rāma and Sītā took place. "All the country round is full of sites traditionally connected with the wedding." Sītāmarhī, close by in the Muzaffarpur District, is said to be the place where Sītā issued from the ground at the point of the ploughshare . . . . Play-writing is still a popular form of composition in Mithilā. At the present day the prose is written in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, but the songs are in Māitili."

A letter from Dr. Laufer, of the Museum of Natural History in New York, requests information in regard to collections from India in the United States. Members knowing of such collections will confer a favor on the Museum by informing Dr. Laufer or the Secretary. The latter knows only the Washington and Philadelphia collections.

Dr. Fletcher Gardner of Bulalacao, Mindoro, P. I., had promised to send to the Society a paper on Philippine folk-lore. He now writes, however, that his manuscripts have already been dispatched to this country for publication; but in lieu of these he has very kindly presented the Society with a set of bambóo writings of the "Mangyan savages" (Query, can "savage" apply to those who read and write?), including "a hitherto unpublished Malay alphabet or syllabary with translations and transliterations," together with a paper on the manners and customs of the Mangyans and the relations of their alphabet. "These writings," Dr. Fletcher says, "are nearly unique in the United States. Mr. E. E. Ayer of Chicago has a small collection made for him by the writer [Dr. Gardner], and it is possible that the Smithsonian has a series made by the Mangyans at the St. Louis Exposition. It is unlikely that there are others."

To conclude this report, greetings have been conveyed to the Society by several members unable to be present, President Gilman, Prof. Francis Brown, Prof. Jastrow, Dr. Scott, and Mr. Orne.

The death of the following members of the Society was reported:

#### HONORARY MEMBER

Dr. Edward William West.

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS

Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss.

Professor Maxwell Sommerville.

Joseph Trumbull Stickney.

#### CORRESPONDING MEMBER

Rev. Lewis Grout.

The death of A. Hjalmar Edgren, a former member of the Society, was also announced.

Professor Jackson spoke of the services of Dr. West to Iranian philology and history. Brief tributes were paid to Professor Curtiss by Messrs. Moore, Carus, Moxom, and Ward; to Professor Sommerville by Messrs. Ward and Hopkins; to Professor Edgren and Mr. Stickney by Professor Lanman; and to Mr. Grout by Professor Hopkins and Dr. Ward. Professor Lanman also spoke of the work of Geheimrath Bochtlingk, an Honorary Member of the Society, whose death, on April 1, 1904, was recorded in the last volume of the Journal.

The report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was presented through Professor Lanman, and is as follows:

#### RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1904.

##### RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1903 ----		\$ 798.94
Dues (193) for 1904 .....	\$965.00	
“ (31) for other years .....	155.00	
“ (17) for Hist. S. R. Sect. ....	34.00	
	-----	\$1,154.00
Sales of publications.....		307.78
Withdrawn from Savings Banks.....		345.00
State Nat. Bank Dividends.....	\$105.97	
Interest Suffolk Savings Bk. ....	10.03	
“ Prov. Inst. for Savings.....	51.69	
	-----	167.69
Gross receipts for the year .....		1,974.47
		<hr/>
		\$2,773.41

## EXPENDITURES.

T., M. & T. Co., printing etc. vol. XXIV <sup>11</sup> .....	\$700.04	
“ “ vol. XXV <sup>1</sup> .....	728.18	
“ “ sundries .....	48.46	
“ 12 reams paper .....	50.40	
	<hr/>	\$1,527.08
Subvention to Orient. Bibliogr. ....		95.38
Postage, etc., Librarian, (2 years) .....	21.78	
“ Treasurer, “ .....	26.64	
Honorariums to editors “ .....	300.00	
	<hr/>	348.42
Cash on hand .....		30.00
Balance on general account .....		772.53
		<hr/>
		\$2,773.41

## STATEMENT.

	1903	1904
I. Bradley Type Fund (N. H. Savings Bank) .....	\$2,065.38	\$2,192.52
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (Pr. Inst. Savings) ..	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. State National Bank Shares .....	1,950.00	1,950.00
IV. Life Membership Fund .....	225.00	225.00
V. Connecticut Savings Bank deposit .....	100.00	5.52
VI. National Savings Bank deposit .....	100.00	10.50
VII. Accrued Interest in II .....	464.43	516.12
VIII. “ “ IV .....	59.95	69.98
IX. “ “ V .....	74.38	
X. “ “ VI .....	74.36	
XI. Cash on hand .....	798.94	67.68
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$6,912.44	\$6,087.32

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Oertel and Sanders, was presented by Professor Oertel, and is as follows:

## REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

Auditors, { HANNIS OERTEL,  
FRANK K. SANDERS.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., April 24, 1905.

The report was accepted and put on file.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Addison Van Name, was presented through Professor Oertel, and is as follows:

#### AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

##### REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN FOR YEAR ENDING APRIL 27, 1905.

The additions to the library for the year past have been 130 volumes, 129 parts of volumes and 27 pamphlets.

From Lady Meux the Society has received the "Book of Paradise" by Palladius and others, the Syriac texts and English translation edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, in two large octavo volumes. This is "Lady Meux Manuscript" No. 6. For Nos. 1-5 of these costly publications acknowledgment has been made in previous reports.

Among the gifts of the Government of India is a nearly complete set, in 45 volumes, of the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

The number of titles entered in the Accession book is now 5428, manuscripts 188.

Respectfully submitted,

ADDISON VAN NAME,

*Librarian.*

NEW HAVEN, April 26, 1905.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Hopkins and Torrey, was presented by Professor Torrey, and is as follows:

#### EDITORS' REPORT

The Editors for the current year have brought out two parts of the Journal, namely the First Half and Second Half of vol. XXV, containing 366 pages, including the Proceedings of the last Meeting, the List of Members, and Notices, or 340 pages without these additions.

The First Half of vol. XXVI. is already well under way. It is due to appear in July, but will probably be ready before that time.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected members of the Society:

#### HONORARY MEMBERS

Professor Karl Geldner.

Dr. George A. Grierson.

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS

E. Everett Conant.

Dr. D. J. Doherty.

Mr. Ralph Hall Ferris.

Mr. Clarence Stanley Fisher.

Dr. Fletcher Gardner.

Rev. Dr. Thomas P. Hughes.

Mr. John Day Jackson.

Prof. W. Max Müller.

Dr. Hermance Ranke.

Mr. H. R. Mayo Thom.

Rev. Elwood Worcester.

MEMBER OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY  
OF RELIGIONS

Prof. Irving F. Wood.

The Vice-President appointed Dr. Moxom, Mr. Hume, and Professor Jackson a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, to report at the last session of the Society.

At 12 o'clock the Society proceeded to the reading of papers. The following communications were presented:

Mr. L. C. Barret, of Johns Hopkins University, Transliteration and proposed text edition of the first book of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda.

Professor Hopkins, of Yale University, The Jāiminiya text of the Cyavana legend.

Professor Jackson, of Columbia University, The Magi in Marco Polo, and the cities in Persia from which they came to worship the infant Christ.

Professor Lanman, of Harvard University, An account of the history, progress, and present prospects of the Harvard Oriental Series.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess till half-past two.

The Society reassembled at half-past two, Vice President Ward in the chair. The following communications were presented:

Professor Prince, of Columbia University, The Pierpont Morgan Babylonian axehead.—Remarks were made by Dr. Ward.

Dr. J. P. Peters, of New York, The Nippur Library.—Remarks were made by Professor Prince and Dr. Ranke.

President W. F. Warren, of Boston University, Problems still unsolved in Indo-Aryan cosmology.—Remarks were made by Professor Lanman.

Professor Lyon, of Harvard University, Assyriological Notes. Remarks were made by Drs. Ward, Peters, and Ranke.

Professor Oertel, of Yale University, Contributions from the Jāiminiya Brāhmana. Fifth Series.—Remarks were made by Professor Hopkins.

Professor Jewett, of the University of Chicago, A proposed edition of part of the Mir'āt uz-Zamān of Sibṭ Ibn ul-Jauzī.—Remarks were made by Professors Torrey and Lanman.

Dr. Yohannan, of Columbia University, An Oriental charm.

Mr. L. C. Barret, of Johns Hopkins University, Some Śārada manuscripts of the Kāṭhaka Gṛhya Sūtra.—Remarks were made by Professors Hopkins, Lanman, and Jackson.

Dr. L. H. Gray, the Viddhaśālabhañjikā of Rājasekhara, now first translated from the Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

Professor Lanman continued his remarks on the Harvard Oriental Series, exhibiting proofs of Dr. Ryder's translation of "The Little Clay Cart."

At five o'clock the Society adjourned to nine o'clock Friday morning.

The Society met on Friday morning at nine o'clock, Vice-President Ward in the chair.

Communications were presented as follows:

Dr. F. Gardner, of Manila, P. I., The Hampaṅgan alphabet of Mindoro, presented by Professor Hopkins.

Dr. J. H. Woods, of Harvard University, The dates of the Yoga-Bhāṣya and of the life of Paramārtha.—Remarks were made by Professor Lanman.

Dr. Paul Carus, of Chicago, Traces of Babylonian influence on China.—Remarks were made by Mr. Lilly.

Dr. L. H. Gray described Mrs. Mumford's "Book of the Ancient Sword."

Dr. A. W. Ryder, of Harvard University, Introduction to a translation of the Mrekhakaṭika.

Professor H. P. Smith, of Amherst College, Early Hebrew Polytheism.—Remarks were made by Messrs. Ranke, Müller, Barret, and Moore.

Professor W. M. Müller, of Philadelphia, Report on a mission to Egypt for the Carnegie Institution.—Remarks were made by Dr. Reisner.

Dr. D. B. Spooner, of Harvard University, A critical study of Mallinātha's comment on the Meghadūta.

Dr. G. A. Reisner, of Cairo, Egypt, The cemetery of the first pyramid at Gizeh (illustrated with lantern).

Professor J. R. Jewett, of Chicago University, read a report by Professor Breasted, of the same University, on the proposed series of Ancient Records.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University, showed photographs of the inscription of King Darius at Kerman.

Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University (in conjunction with Professor Jackson), Notes on some Persian references to Zoroaster and his religion.

Prof. Moore, on behalf of Professor T. F. Wright, who was unable to be present, laid before the Society a volume on the Tombs at Marissa, by Dr. Thiersch and Peters, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

At 12 o'clock the Society took a recess till two o'clock.

The Society resumed its sessions at two o'clock.

The Corresponding Secretary reported for the Directors that the next meeting of the Society would be held in New Haven, Conn., April 19th, 20th, and 21st, 1906. Professors Hopkins

and Torrey were named as a Committee of Arrangements for that meeting.

The Directors further reported that they had appointed Professor E. Washburn Hopkins and Professor C. C. Torrey, Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The Vice-President appointed Mr. John Day Jackson and Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes to audit the Treasurer's accounts for the year 1905-1906.

The Committee appointed at the first session to nominate officers for the ensuing year reported through its Chairman, Dr. P. S. Moxon. The report was accepted, and the following officers were unanimously elected:

*President*—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Washington, D. C.

*Vice-Presidents*—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven.

*Recording Secretary*—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge.

*Secretary of the Section for Religions*—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

*Treasurer*—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

*Librarian*—Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named; and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil and A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Hyvernatt, of Washington; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven.

The Committee recommended, also, that the Society, through the Corresponding Secretary, express to Mr. Addison Van Name, who had asked to be relieved of the duties of Librarian, its grateful appreciation of his long and faithful service in that office; and it was so ordered.

They further recommended: That a committee on nominations for the next annual meeting be appointed at this meeting; and that in future the President be requested to prepare an address on some phase of the progress or significance of Oriental studies, to be read at the annual meeting. These recommendations were adopted.

The committee appointed under this resolution to nominate officers to be chosen at the next annual meeting consists of Professors Moore, Jackson, and Jastrow.

The Society proceeded to the reading of papers in the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, Vice-President C. R. Lanman in the chair. The following communications were presented:



Miss L. C. G. Grieve, of Ocean Grove, N. J., Some religious aspects of the plague in India.

Dr. W. H. Ward, of New York, The Sacred Tree of the Assyrians.

Miss Margaretta Morris, of Philadelphia, Harvest gods of the Land Dyaks of Borneo.

Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of Yale University, The Fountain of Youth.

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University, Og, King of Basban, in Mohammedan legend.

Professor C. R. Lanman, The lessons of the East for the West.—Remarks were made by Messrs. Ward and Woods.

The following resolution of thanks was unanimously adopted: The American Oriental Society desires to express their sincere thanks to the Curator and Trustees of the Art Museum for their kind attention and to the Committee of Arrangements for their efficient services.

At four o'clock the Society adjourned to meet in New Haven, Conn., April 19th, 1906.

The following papers were presented by title: Professor Arnold, Solomon's horse-trade; The Palmyrene inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum, N. Y.—Dr. Blake, The doubling in *hamišša*, *hamiššān*; Bisayan dialects.—Professor Bolling (with Dr. von Negelein), Announcement of an edition of the Atharva Veda Paṇiṣṭas.—Professor Harper, The Chicago University Expedition to Babylonia.—Mr. Haas, The Prākṛit text of Rājāśekhara's Viddhaśālabhañjikā.—Dr. Langdon, The supposed variant of AIL. 82, 7-14, 1042.—Mr. Lythgoe, An early prehistoric cemetery at Naga ed-Dêr.—Professor Mills, The Pahlavi text of Yasna xvii.—Mrs. Ruutz-Rees, Certain differences in Aryan and Semitic thought.—Dr. Spoer, Palmyrene tesserae.—Professor Toy, An early form of sacrifice.

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*From Velandai Gopala Aiyer, Chittoor.*

The chronology of Ancient India. By V. G. Aiyer. Madras, 1901. 8°.

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Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. xxxiii. 13-27, xxxiv-xxxix, xl. 1-17. Boston, 1898-1905. 8°.

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Journal of the American Geographical Society. Vol. xxx. 2-5, xxxi-xxxvi, xxxvii. 1-3. New York, 1898-1905. 8°.

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Report of the memorial meeting, January 16, 1900, in honor of the late Daniel Garrison Brinton, M.D. Philadelphia, 1900. 8°.

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De Tjandi Mendoet voor de restauratie. Door B. Kerjes en C. den Hamer. Batavia, 1903. 4°.

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- Zapiski otdelenia Russkoj i Slavianskoj Arkheologii. Tom v. 1. St. P., 1903. 8°.
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*From Mr. Francesco Scerbo.*

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*From Mr. J. F. Scheltema.*

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*From Prof. Charles W. Shields.*

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*From His Highness the Crown Prince of Siam.*

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*From the Smithsonian Institution.*

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*From G. Hutchinson Smyth, D.D.*

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*From M. Édouard Specht.*

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*From the Editor, Prof. D. Bernhard Stade.*

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Jahrg. xx-xxiv, xxv. 1. Giessen, 1900-1905. 8°.

*From the Editor, Sir Richard C. Temple.*

The Indian Antiquary. No. 332-345, 347-350, 352-381, 384-423. Bombay, 1897-1904. 4°.

*From Prof. Vilhelm Thomsen.*

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*From Prof. C. P. Tiele.*

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*From the United States Bureau of Education.*

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*From the United States Geological Survey.*

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*From the Library of Congress.*

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*From the Society of Letters, Upsala.*

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*From the University of Upsala.*

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1899. 8°.

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K. L. Tallquist. Helsingfors, 1889. 4.

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1903. 8°.

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1903. 8°.

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*From Prof. Albrecht Weber.*

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Sitzungsber., 1898, 1901.) 8°.

*From Mr. G. H. Whinfield.*

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*From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.*

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*From the Anthropological Society, Vienna.*

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*From Mr. Talcott Williams.*

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*Additions by subvention or subscription of the Society:*

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, DECEMBER, 1905.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- DR. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BILANDARKAR, C.I.E., Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- DR. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMANN, Steglitz, Friedrich Str. 10/11, Berlin, Germany. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Luebecker Str. 40, N. W.) 1905.
- Prof. M. J. DE GEORJE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg, 21.) 1887.
- Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. RICHARD FISCHER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Halensee, Joachim Friedrichstrasse 47.) 1902.
- Prof. EDUARD SACIAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.
- Prof. JULIUS WELHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weber Str. 18a.) 1902.

Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts  
Str. 15.) 1890. [Total, 23.]

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

- Rev. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, D.D., Tardeo, Bombay, India. 1900.  
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.  
 F. STURGES ALLEN, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.  
 Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN (Woman's College), Frederick, Md. 1904.  
 Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor,  
 Great Britain, 1896.  
 Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 272 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.  
 Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1893.  
 Dr. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Publishing Dept., Waseda University, Tokyo,  
 Japan. 1904.  
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, City Hall, Taunton, Mass. 1894.  
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 LEROY CARR BARRET, Box 86, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
 1903.  
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 232 East 11th St., New York. 1894.  
 Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.  
 Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.  
 1900.  
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1893.  
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), Dixon Park, Mt.  
 Washington, Md. 1900.  
 Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New  
 York, N. Y. 1891.  
 FREDERICK J. BLISS, Ph.D., Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.  
 1898.  
 Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Ph.D., Augustana College and Theol.  
 Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.  
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, LL.D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore,  
 Md. 1881.  
 Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea  
 Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambésy, Switzerland. 1897.  
 Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C.  
 1896.  
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
 1891.  
 Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave.,  
 New York, N. Y. 1879.  
 Dr. PAUL BRÖNNLE, 2 Lancaster Gardens, West Ealing, London, W.,  
 England. 1903.

- Prof. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. SIMON J. CARR, Ph.D., 1527 Church St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.
- Dr. FRANKLIN CARTER, care Hon. F. J. Kingsbury, Waterbury, Conn. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.
- CLARENCE H. CLARK, Locust and 42d Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
- Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
- WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, 224 Phelan Building, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.
- †GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
- Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
- C. EVERETT CONANT, Bureau of Public Lands, Manila, P. I. 1905.
- WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, 16 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1902.
- OSCAR T. CROSBY, Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C. 1904.
- STEWART CULIN, Brooklyn Institute Museum, Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.
- Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, St. Mary's Church, Washington, D. C. 1904.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- LEE MALTBIE DEAN, Westbrook, Maine. 1897.
- ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. 1900.
- JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, Villa Grand Bois, Cannes (A.M.), France. 1880.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- Dr. DAVID J. DOHERTY, M.D., 582 La Salle Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.
- Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
- WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- Mrs. WILLIAM M. ELLICOTT, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.
- Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
- AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1902.
- Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, Ph.D., The Jumna Mission House, Allahabad, N. W. P., India. 1900.
- Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 772 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1901.
- MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, 1079 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
- Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAX, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1888.
- ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, 159 Church St., Mobile, Ala. 1894.

- Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.  
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 121a Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, China. 1900.  
 RALPH HALL FERRIS, B.A., B.D., 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1905.  
 CLARENCE STANLEY FISHER, B.Sc., Rutledge, Delaware Co., Pa. 1905.  
 †Lady CAROLINE DE FILIPPI FITZ GERALD, 167 Via Urbana, Rome, Italy. 1886.  
 Rev. THEODORE C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 †FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.  
 Rev. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theological Seminary), 317 West 116th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.  
 Dr. FLETCHER GARDNER, Bloomington, Indiana. 1905.  
 ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
 Rev. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, Yonkers, N. Y. 1901.  
 Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.  
 Dr. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, 614 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1857.  
 LOUIS GINZBERG, Ph.D., 60 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.  
 Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, LL.D., D.C.L. (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.  
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 JACOB GRAPE, JR., Bond and Jefferson Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1888.  
 LOUIS H. GRAY, Ph.D., 354 Summer Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.  
 Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 462 West 151st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 Miss LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Satara, Bombay Presidency, India. 1898.  
 Dr. KARL JOSEF GRIMM, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 1897.  
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.  
 CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.  
 Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.  
 GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 64 Seventh St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
 Dr. CARL C. HANSEN, Lakawn Lampang, Laos, Siam (via Brindisi, Moulmain, and Raheng). 1902.  
 Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.  
 Prof. SAMUEL HART, D.D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.  
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore. 1887.  
 Rev. EDWARD HAYES, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1904.  
 Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.

- Prof. RICHARD HENEBRY, Ph.D., 1738 Logan Ave., Denver, Col. 1900.  
 Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.
- Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, (Columbia Univ.), 501 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Prof. CHARLES T. HOCK (Theological Seminary), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.
- †Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northern Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
- Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, Ph.D., 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, LL.D. (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- Prof. JAMES M. HOPPIN, D.D. (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
- Rev. THOMAS P. HUGHES, D.D., LL.D., 15 Rugby Road, Flatbush, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1905.
- Rev. ROBERT E. HUME, Ph.D., 73 Kenwood Park, Springfield, Mass. 1900.
- Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHREY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
- HENRY MINOR HUXLEY, 31 William St., Worcester, Mass.
- Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, LL.D. (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
- JOHN DAY JACKSON, 86 Crown St., New Haven, Conn. 1905.
- Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
- Miss MARY JEFFERS, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
- Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 79, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Quadrangle Club, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Prof. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSON (Johns Hopkins University), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
- Prof. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Ph.D., 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newtown, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, LL.D. (Harvard University), 9 Hillard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- Rev. GEORGE A. KOHUT, 44 West 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- STEPHEN HERBERT LANGDON, 76 Rue d'Arras, Paris, France. 1902.
- †Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN, LL.D. (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- BERTHOLD LAUFER, Ph.D., American Museum of National History, 77th St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1900.
- †HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
- C. S. LEAVENWORTH, U. S. Consulate, Nagasaki, Japan. 1900.

- Prof. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.  
 ROBERT LILLEY, D.C.L., Grafton, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.  
 Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 308 Gowday St., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.  
 Dr. ENNO LITTMAN, University Library, Princeton, N. J. 1902.  
 Rev. JACOB W. LOCH, Ph.D., 89 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.  
 PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Putnam & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.  
 †BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.  
 Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, LL.D. (Harvard Univ.), Cambridge, Mass. 1882.  
 ALBERT MORTON LYTIGOE, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1899.  
 Mrs. MATILDA R. McCONNELL, 112 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1890.  
 Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.  
 Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, Ph.D., 472 Salem St., Malden, Mass. 1898.  
 Lieut. WILLIAM E. W. MACKINLAY, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Lemon Building, 1729 New York Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1904.  
 Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. \*  
 Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.  
 Prof. ALLEN MARQUAND, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
 Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.  
 TRUMAN MICHELSON, 610 Turner Ave., Columbia, Mo.  
 Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri. 1892.  
 Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford University), 119 Ifley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.  
 Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Green St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.  
 Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE, D.D., LL.D. (Harvard University), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.  
 JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE, 8 West 119th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 †Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.  
 PAUL ELMER MORE, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1893.  
 Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
 Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.  
 Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, 83 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass. 1898.  
 Prof. W. MAX MUELLER, Ph.D., 27 North Farson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.  
 Rev. Prof. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S.J., Woodstock, Howard Co., Maryland. 1889.  
 Mrs. ETHEL WATTS MUMFORD, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.

- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS T. O'CONNELL, D.D. (Catholic University), Washington, D. C. 1903.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.
- Prof. GEORGE N. OLCOTT (Columbia University), 438 West 116th St., New York, N. Y.
- Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (University of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
- †ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- JOHN ORNE, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
- Prof. GEORGE W. OSBORN, New York University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. GABRIEL OUSSANI, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1901.
- Rev. CHARLES RAY PALMER, D.D., 502 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Prof. WALTER M. PATTON, Ph.D., Baker Univ., Baldwin, Kansas. 1903.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY, LL.D. (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. DAVID PHILPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
- WILLIAM POPPER, Ph.D., 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
- GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Pres. F. P. RAMSAY, Ph.D. (King College), Bristol, Tenn.
- HORACE M. RAMSEY, General Theological Seminary, 2 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1902.
- Dr. HERMANN RANKE, Royal Museum, Berlin, Germany. 1905.
- Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Girgeh, Egypt. 1891.
- ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1900.
- J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ont. 1902.
- EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Peking, China. 1880.
- Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, D.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md., 1897.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 18 Wilbur St., Cleveland, O. 1894.
- Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, 219 West 80th St., New York, N. Y. 1897.

- Miss CATHARINE B. RUNKLE, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
Dr. ARTHUR W. RYDER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1902.  
Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, D.D., 22 Rockview St., Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1897.  
President S. SCHECHTER (Jewish Theological Seminary), 501 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
Dr. II. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.  
MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., U. S. Legation, Bangkok, Siam. 1899.  
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 150 Woodworth Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.  
Rev. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, Ph.D., 78 Higashi Sambanchō, Sendai, Japan. 1902.  
J. HERBERT SENTER, 10 Avon St., Portland, Me. 1870.  
Dr. CHARLES H. SHANNON, Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville, Tenn. 1899.  
CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 65 Irving Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
†The Very Rev. JOHN R. SLATTERY, 261 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1903.  
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.  
WILLIAM WALLACE SPENCE, JR., Bolton, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
Prof. HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., Theological Seminary, Meadville, Pa. 1899.  
DAVID BRAINERD SPOONER, Bismarck Str., 8<sup>iii</sup> Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany. 1902.  
Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.  
Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 74 West 103d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
Prof. EDWARD HENRY STROBEL, care Foreign Office, Bangkok, Siam. 1903.  
MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
HENRY OSBOEN TAYLOR, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.  
H. R. MAYO THOM, Hillside, Roland Park, Md. 1905.  
Rev. J. J. TIERNEY, D.D., Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. 1901.  
Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia University), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.  
Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY (Yale University), 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1891.  
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY, LL.D. (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.  
Rev. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 20 Holton St., Allston, Boston, Mass. 1892.  
ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.  
EDWARD P. VINING, 49 Second St., San Francisco, Cal. 1883.  
THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.



- Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
- Rev. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D., LL.D., 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
- Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, West New York, New Jersey. 1893.
- CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 17 Leonard Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD (Harvard Univ.), Asst. Gen. Adviser to U.S.M. Govt., Bangkok, Siam. 1903.
- SIDNEY A. WESTON, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1903.
- Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
- Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
- Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
- Rev. E. T. WILLIAMS, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL.D. ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
- Rev. DR. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 233 N. 24th St., Portland, Oregon. 1894.
- HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
- Rev. LAUREN P. WOLFE, Church of The Holy Comforter, 19th and Titan Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
- LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 513 Laurens St., Baltimore, Md. 1904.
- WILLIAM W. WOOD, 2802 Parkwood Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- JAMES H. WOODS, Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
- Rev. ELWOOD WORCESTER, D.D., S.T.D., 80 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- Rev. JAMES OWENS WRIGHTSON, 1031 Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1903.
- K. YAMASAKI [address desired]. 1904.
- Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.

[Total 263.]

### III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

- Prof. FELIX ADLER, Ph.D., 123 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.  
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISIOP, 500 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, South India. 1899.  
 SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.  
 Prof. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS (Columbia Univ.), 150 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.  
 Prof. ARTHUR L. GILLET, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.  
 Dr. CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
 Prof. LINDLEY M. KEASBEY, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1903.  
 Prof. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., D.D. (Boston University), 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1900.  
 WILLIAM W. NEWELL, Cambridge, Mass. 1898.  
 FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.), Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.  
 Rev. CHARLES S. SANDERS, Aintab, Turkey. 1902.  
 Rev. Dr. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Prof. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Prof. LANGDON C. STEWARDSON, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1901.  
 Prof. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 240 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. CHARLES MELLE TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1904.  
 Prof. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.  
 Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Ph.D., Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.  
 [Total, 20.]

### IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Prof. GRAZIADIO ISAIA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.  
 Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.  
 Prof. ADOLPH BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.  
 Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.  
 Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.  
 Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.  
 Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.  
 Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.  
 Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.  
 Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.

- A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.  
 HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.  
 Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of *The Missionary Review of the World*), 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.  
 Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.  
 Dr. WILLARD HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.  
 Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Syria. 1887.  
 Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, 71 Glenwood Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1873.  
 Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.  
 Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Hankow, China. 1858.  
 Prof. EBERHARD NESTLE, Maulbronn, Württemberg, Germany. 1888.  
 Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATI, Athens, Greece. 1861.  
 Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, 5817 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1881.  
 Rev. W. A. SHEDD, American Mission, Urumia, Persia (via Berlin and Tabriz). 1893.  
 Dr. JOHN C. SUNDBERG, 313 Phelan Building, San Francisco, Cal. 1893.  
 Rev. GEORGE N. THOMSSSEN, of the American Baptist Mission, Bapatla, Madras Pres., India. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.  
 Rev. GEORGE T. WASHBURN, Meriden, Conn.  
 Rev. JAMES W. WAUGH, Missionary at Lucknow, India. (Now at Ocean Grove, N. J.) 1873.  
 Rev. JOSEPH K. WHITE, New Hamburg, N. Y. Corp. Member, 1869.  
 [Total, 28.]

Number of members of the four classes 334.

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 NEW YORK: American Geographical Society.  
 PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.  
 WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.  
                     Bureau of American Ethnology.  
 WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

II. EUROPE.

- AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
                     Anthropologische Gesellschaft.  
 PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.  
 FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)  
                     Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.  
                     Bibliothèque Nationale.  
                     Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)  
                     École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)

GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
Königliche Bibliothek.

Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeug-  
hausa 1.)

GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesell-  
schaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)

LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)

MUNICH: Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

TÜBINGEN: Library of the University.

GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and  
Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)

Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)

Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great  
Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)

Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J.  
Furnival, 3 St. George's Square, Prim-  
rose Hill, NW.)

ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.

ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

THE HAGUE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en  
Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.

LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.

RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.  
Archeologiji Institut.

SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

### III. ASIA.

CALCUTTA, GOV'T OF INDIA: Home Department.

CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CHINA, PEKING: Peking Oriental Society.

SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

TONKIN: l'École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton),  
Hanoi.

INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)

CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)

The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)

LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.

SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Ben-  
more, Simla, Punjab.)

JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.

JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

KOREA: Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.

NEW ZEALAND: The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: The Ethnological Survey, Manila.

SYRIA: The American School (care U. S. Consul, Jerusalem).

Revue Biblique, care of M. J. Lagrange, Jerusalem.

#### IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

#### V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Oriental Bibliography (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, 18 Ungerer Str., Munich, Bavaria).

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 5817 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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New York Public Library.

Yale University Library.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

#### BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS.

##### I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

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